

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

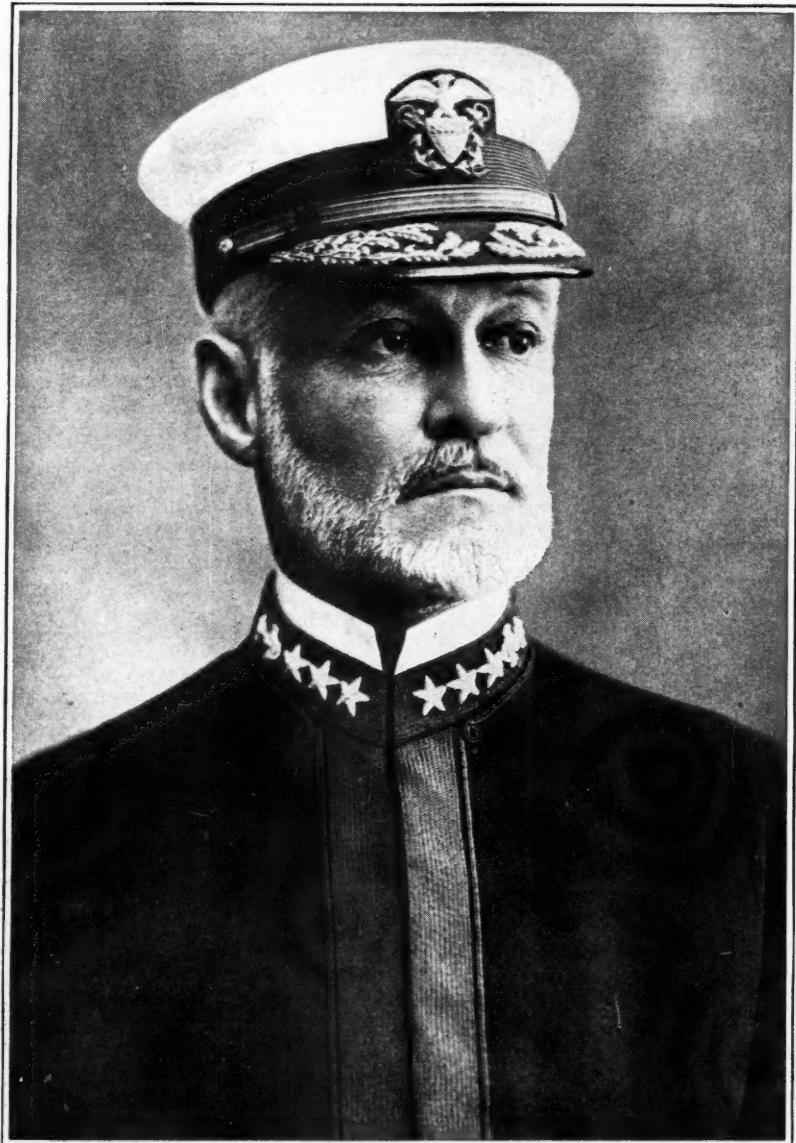
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**VICE-ADMIRAL WILLIAM S. SIMS, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN FLEET IN THE WAR ZONE**

(The Vice-Admiral now in command of the American destroyer flotilla in European waters has long been known as one of the best-equipped and most resourceful of our naval officers. He was born in Canada sixty years ago and graduated from the Naval Academy at Annapolis at the age of twenty-two. Since then he has held a great number of important commands. For many years he has worked unceasingly to raise the standards of gunnery in the American Navy. It was in 1910 he made, in England, his famous prediction, abundantly fulfilled in the past twelvemonth: "If the time ever comes when the British Empire is seriously menaced by an external enemy, it is my opinion that you may count upon every man, every dollar, and every drop of blood of your kindred across the sea.")

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No. 2

## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

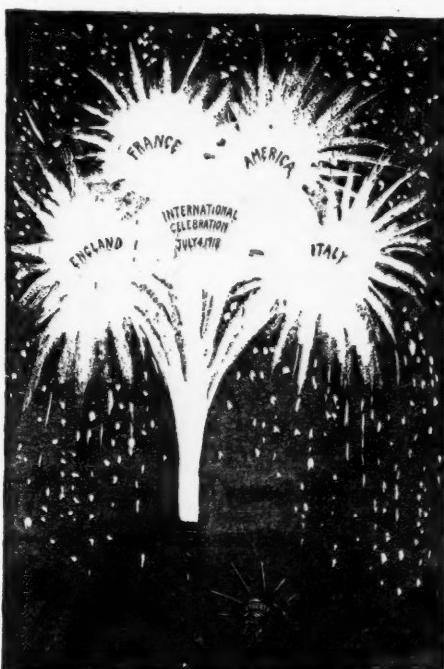
*George Washington Internationalized*

The definite policy adopted by our Government, of giving exact information regarding the numbers of our men who have been transported across the Atlantic, has had favorable results in every way. Its encouragement of the French, British, and Italian nations has been of far more than sentimental value. Hope and courage are the best tonics; and the movement of American troops has helped all of the Allied countries to bear their strain and increase rather than diminish their own efforts. This feeling of relief and renewed confidence, due to the arrival of American troops, has been universal in the Allied countries, and has been expressed by statesmen, generals, newspapers, and spontaneous demonstrations. The celebration of the Fourth of July, in England as well as in France, was very general; and in England especially the day was used to show that George Washington and the men of the American Revolution had been fully adopted by the whole English-speaking world as historical representatives of Anglo-Saxon principles of freedom. It is no menace to the rest of the world, but rather a great gain for the future welfare of all nations, that the American, British, and French peoples can unite henceforth in celebrating all the great events that form milestones in the history of human liberty.

*Loyalty of our Foreign-born Citizens*

The spirit of the Fourth of July, as celebrated in the United States, was that of a re-dedication of all our people to the principles and ideals which America now upholds so conspicuously before the world. The day was happily seized upon by adopted citizens of many different nativities to express their devotion to the land of their present home and allegiance—the only land that their children

can know. The parade in New York City was a memorable outpouring—picturesque, varied, and convincing—of the devoted loyalty of population elements which owe much to America and which intend in return that America shall owe something to them. In this same spirit, naturalized citizens born in many foreign lands accompanied President Wilson and the diplomats at Washington to Mount Vernon, where the President made an address which has since been read by countless millions in many lands. The present struggle was pronounced by the President to be the spread of the principles of the



THE GLORIOUS FOURTH  
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

American Revolution to the great stage of the world itself. The following quotations embody the essence of Mr. Wilson's brief but noteworthy speech, so far as it was addressed to other nations:

There can be but one issue. The settlement must be final. There can be no compromise. No half-way decision would be tolerable. No half-way decision is conceivable. These are the ends for which the associated peoples of the world are fighting and which must be conceded them before there can be peace:

I. The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at the least its reduction to virtual impotence.

II. The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.

III. The consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct toward each other by the same principles of honor and of respect for the common law of civilized society that govern the individual citizens of all modern states in their relations with one another; to the end that all promises and covenants may be sacredly observed, no private plots or conspiracies hatched, no selfish injuries wrought with impunity, and a mutual trust established upon the handsome foundation of a mutual respect for right.

IV. The establishment of an organization of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit and by which every international readjustment that cannot be amicably agreed upon by the peoples directly concerned shall be sanctioned.

These great objects can be put into a single sentence. What we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind.

*Principles  
Not to Be  
Compromised*

These points, as enunciated at the tomb of Washington, have been received with explicit approval by the statesmen and the press of the great countries with which we are coöperating. The speech has been malignantly assailed in Germany; yet some leaders of opinion even in that country have dared to tell the truth and commend it, while the Austrian Foreign Minister has felt obliged to praise it. Rightly seen, the American principles are as just and advantageous for Germany as they are for France. To put it in a plain and homely way, Germany can have an honorable peace just as soon as she is willing to be decent, and to recognize the fact that other people's rights are as sacred as her own. About the principles involved, there can be no compromise. When it comes to the detailed application of those principles, everyone will admit that there are several problems that are difficult to solve. They will require careful study, but they can be worked out in such a way as to promote the general welfare.

*Good-will  
Across  
Seas*

It would be hard to find a more admirable and sincere expression of the best British sentiment toward the United States than was contained in the article contributed to the July number of this REVIEW by Mr. P. W. Wilson, the distinguished journalist and parliamentarian who has been spending some time here as a special correspondent of the London *Daily News*. Mr. Wilson sees the future influence of the English-speaking countries with a large and true vision. The altruism of



WASHINGTON'S HOME AT MOUNT VERNON, HENCEFORTH AN INTERNATIONAL SHRINE

Inspired by the charming environs of the Washington home, Mr. Wilson in his Fourth of July speech made the following allusions to the locality itself: "The place seems very still and remote. It is as serene and untouched by the hurry of the world as it was in those great days long ago when General Washington was here and held leisurely conference with the men who were to be associated with him in the creation of a nation. From these gentle slopes they looked out upon the world and saw it whole, saw it with the light of the future upon it, saw it with modern eyes that turned away from a past which men of liberated spirits could no longer endure."



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PRESIDENT WILSON SPEAKING ON THE FOURTH OF JULY AT THE TOMB OF WASHINGTON

what is best in the American outlook upon the world is not different in any way from the altruism of the British peoples, for whom men like Mr. P. W. Wilson speak with so confident a knowledge that their tone is representative. It is an advantage to both countries to have men of right feeling and trained intelligence find out by personal sojourn and inquiry what are the motives that dominate these great communities. Thus Dr. George E. Vincent last month told our readers, as he returned from a trip to France, Italy, and England, of the warm feeling for our country that he discovered everywhere. Keen and able British journalists, of whom Mr. Wilson is typical, readily discover what is genuine in American sentiment and the American program; and the future society of nations—which will inevitably rest upon the moral confidence that is now growing up—will owe much to the services of these sympathetic interpreters of opinion.

*England's Millions of New Voters*

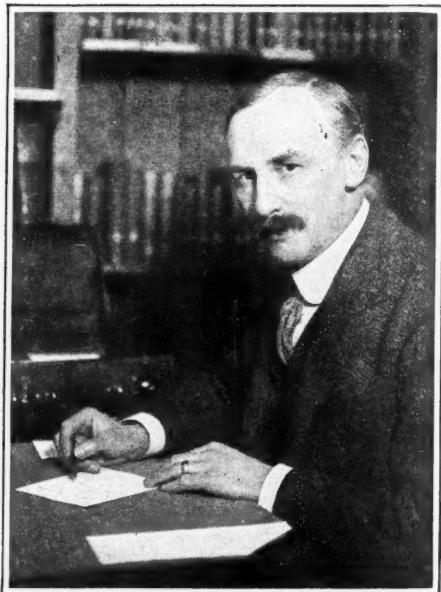
In this article of Mr. P. W. Wilson, to which we have been referring, occur the following sentences relating to the growth of British democracy:

No effective franchise came into force in Brit-

ain until 1834. Errors committed before that date were therefore due not to the people's folly, but to the folly of their rulers. That franchise was extended in 1868 and again in 1884, and in this present year the electorate will be doubled by the inclusion of six millions of women. With freedom thus slowly broadening down, Britain has drawn nearer to America.

This allusion to the new British election law was made in order to give emphasis to the assertion that democratic tendencies are bringing England and America closer together. But the importance of this electoral reform can only be appreciated after a full understanding of the facts. We are glad, therefore, to present in the present number of the REVIEW an article entitled "Britain's New Democracy," by Mr. Frederic Austin Ogg, a well-known American student of political science. Thus when the next Parliament is elected, the voters will be sixteen millions instead of eight millions, as heretofore. Ten million men and six million women will elect 707 members of the House of Commons. It is quite true that the German franchise system under which the Reichstag is elected is more popular and democratic on its face than the English system has been. The Reichstag, however, does not rule Germany and, except for its relation to money

supply, it has little power or authority. The House of Commons, on the other hand, governs England, and for a long time past it has been honestly elected under a fairly broad franchise. The fact that the franchise is now to be still more universal attests the spirit of Great Britain in the war period.



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MR. P. W. WILSON, BRITISH PUBLICIST VISITING  
AMERICA

*Prussia Postpones Reform*

The real criterion of democracy in Germany is the franchise under which Prussia is governed, and not the electoral system of the German Reichstag. Our readers will remember that the promised reforms for Prussia, made early last year by the Emperor, have been indefinitely postponed. The whole German tendency is towards the strengthening of autocracy, the Prussian system being the worst in the world. England, on the contrary, has become decidedly more democratic than before. Furthermore, English reforms are always real, never illusive. The British system is more simple and direct than that of any other great government. The voters in a given constituency have merely to give their verdict for the man they prefer to send to Westminster. They have nothing else to do, and their votes directly operate to govern the country. Except as regards the extent of the franchise, democratic control has been more immediate and effective in England than here in America.

*Women Voters in Britain*

Thus far, by general consent, the life of the old Parliament has been extended so that an election in war time may be avoided. If the war should continue much longer, however, it will probably be necessary to have an election. It has been commonly thought that the result would greatly increase the number of Labor members and radicals in the House of Commons. But no one can safely predict how the new electorate will vote. Women under thirty are not enfranchised. In England women now considerably outnumber men, and it is proposed to try woman suffrage on a compromise plan before giving all women equal rights with men. Undoubtedly this English law has influenced opinion at Washington regarding the proposed suffrage amendment. President Wilson had originally supported the plan of suffrage extension through the action of individual States. He is now entirely ready for—indeed he actually advocates—the submission of an amendment to the United States Constitution which would enfranchise women throughout the country on the same terms with men. The final vote of Congress on this question, however, will probably not be taken until after the vacations or recesses that Congress will take from time to time for the coming two months. It is expected that suffrage will win.

*Reform of the Upper House*

The overshadowing business of the war itself, and the critical phases of a problem like that of Ireland, have postponed the general discussion of several important political problems that Great Britain will face when the war is at an end. One of these subjects is presented in the report of an influential commission on the reform of the House of Lords, of which the chairman is Lord Bryce. It is not expected in England that the hereditary upper chamber can remain in the future as in the past. The hereditary element will either be abolished or reduced to very small proportions. The Bryce report favors the election of most of the members of the upper house by groups of members of the House of Commons representing about a dozen territorial divisions of the United Kingdom. The plan provides for the selection of a minority of "Senators" (whatever they may be called) by various other methods, to represent distinctive elements and classes. The scheme as a whole makes compromises with the past that are desirable from the stand-

point of British reform methods, which proceed always by growth rather than by purely logical transitions.

*As to  
Imperial  
Government*

Even more important than this House of Lords question, however, in the minds of many British politicians, is the problem of the so-called "empire." Is there to be a Parliament in which Canada, Australasia, and South Africa will have representatives? Or will these important self-governing countries take their places as members of that larger association of peoples and governments of which the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Italy are to be members? If there is to be a mutually supporting league of nations, will there be any place within that league for lesser leagues called "empires"? If newly accepted principles hold their own, such a question can in due time be answered in a way that will be satisfactory to everybody of broad views. Another question that seems likely to be held for post-bellum treatment is that of Ireland's government.

*Ireland—the  
Hard Nut  
to Crack*

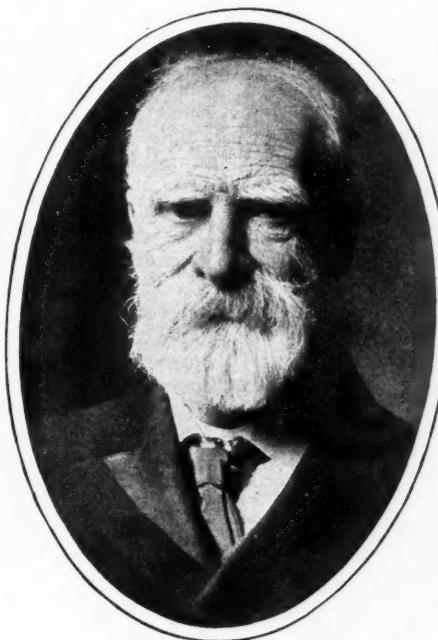
It is true  
that Mr.  
Lloyd

George, in the Irish debate several weeks ago, said that he thought the Irish question might be solved within the war period. The Irish Secretary, Mr. Edward Shortt, has a policy which holds out grants of land to Irishmen who will volunteer for army service. This is sharply criticized, however, as unfair to British soldiers who are not receiving like promises in England and the Dominions. Home Rule and conscription have both been indefinitely postponed, and General French keeps order in Ireland with no difficulty, although recruiting seems to lag. Mr. Shortt, Chief Secretary for Ireland in the Lloyd George

ministry, is a Liberal member of Parliament from Newcastle, who has always been a Home Ruler and has broad and sympathetic views. It would be very unfortunate to have Ireland become an international issue, like Alsace-Lorraine or Belgium or Bohemia or Poland. Americans would like to see both Home Rule and conscription completely enforced, without twenty-four hours' delay. There are plenty of individual exceptions, but doubtless this is the prevailing American opinion, regardless of the details.

*Home Rule  
also for  
India*

The future of India is a question never absent from the thoughts of the British ruling classes. Thus the intense interest in the fate of Russia just now, for English statesmen, is due in great part to the bearing of the Russian problem upon that of India. It would be far from true to assert that England looks forward to a future of selfish exploitation in the great Asiatic empire over which the British crown holds sway. But the British do not intend to permit Germany to menace India by way of Persia or Central Asia, if they can prevent it. India's only reasonable hope is tied up



VISCOUNT BRYCE, FORMERLY BRITISH AMBASSADOR  
AT WASHINGTON

(The public activities and international services of Lord Bryce during the past four years have been constant, varied, and of great importance)

with the intelligent good-will of democratic England. Mr. Montagu, Secretary for India in the Lloyd George ministry, has recently spent six months in India, studying all the problems of that vast country. He has returned to London with a report which proposes the beginnings of a very considerable system of native home rule. It is not expected to go as fast in India as we Americans have gone in the Philippines; but the plans proposed constitute a good beginning, and India can go forward towards full self-government on the Canadian plan by the simple process of making wise use of the

initial powers conferred upon her. While this subject is not acute in England at this moment, it is under intense discussion throughout native circles<sup>\*</sup> in India. Along with the proposals for progress towards autonomy are the plans for raising larger armies in India to support the present war.

*English Support of Gen. Foch* While referring to British affairs, we are glad to call the attention of our readers to an article contributed to this number of the REVIEW by Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, recently Director of Military Operations on the British General Staff and one of the ablest and best-known of English soldiers. We had editorially, and also in Mr. Simonds' article in our June number, alluded to General Maurice's retirement from the army as connected with certain elements of opposition in England to Allied military unity under a French generalissimo.



MAJOR-GENERAL SIR FREDERICK MAURICE, FORMERLY DIRECTOR OF MILITARY OPERATIONS AT THE BRITISH WAR OFFICE

In his very interesting article (beginning on page 157), General Maurice explains fully and convincingly to the American public that while he had been opposed to military management by a committee like the Versailles Conference, he had been strongly in favor of unity of command, and a most ardent friend and admirer of General Foch.

*Gen. Maurice and "Man-power"* The thing that led to the retirement of General Maurice was the famous "man-power" discussion in England, following the terrible disasters of the German drive beginning March 21. Assurances had been given in the House of Commons, by the Prime Minister and by the floor leader, Mr. Bonar Law, which conveyed the impression that the English Army in France was stronger early in 1918 than it had been a year before. General Maurice felt it his duty to deny this in a letter to the London *Daily Chronicle*. This was quite as sensational and unusual as it would be at Washington if General March, as Chief of Staff, should write a letter to the editor of the *New York Times* flatly contradicting Secretary Baker's recent announcements regarding the number of American soldiers sent across the ocean. It is probably to-day the accepted opinion in military circles that the British Government had pursued a mistaken policy in not maintaining its extended lines in France with larger bodies of reserves, in anticipation of the German reinforcements drawn from the Russian front. Undoubtedly General Maurice pursued an unusual course under stress of his conviction that the civil government was not sufficiently alive to the needs of the army. The widely discussed allusion to Waterloo and the coming of Blucher, was misconstrued by the American newspapers. We are therefore printing in full (see page 160) the official report of General Maurice's interview with the newspaper men on April 17. It is entirely clear that the British army is heartily coöoperating with the French under the supreme leadership of General Foch; and the fine spirit of the British officers and men is well reflected in General Maurice's statement.

*France Wins Plaudits Everywhere* If Americans were gratified over the tributes paid to the Stars and Stripes in England, France, and Italy on the Fourth of July, it is not less true that Frenchmen were elated by reason of the adoption of Bastile Day, July

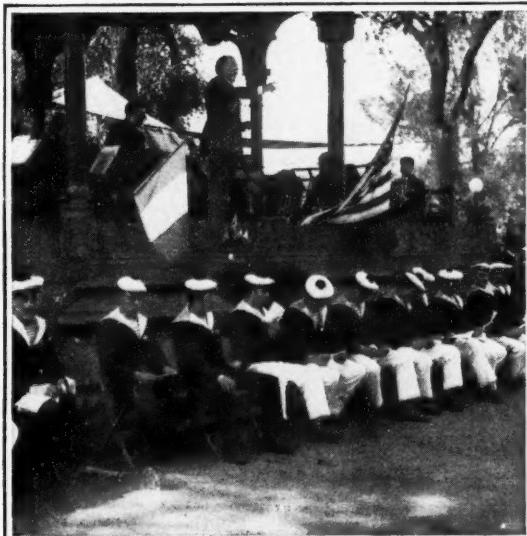


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CELEBRATING BASTILLE DAY, JULY 14, AT THE STATUE OF JOAN OF ARC ON RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK

14, for celebration in America, and its wide recognition everywhere outside of the countries under military control of the German General Staff. The French Revolution was one of the great moral and political steps necessary to the making of the modern

world. France will continue to be French, England will remain English, and we shall go on with our work of developing a real and distinct American nationality on our side of the Atlantic. We are not going to maintain "a polyglot boarding-house." We



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FRENCH SAILORS IN CENTRAL PARK, NEW YORK, WHERE AN AMERICAN SPEAKER IS PRAISING FRANCE, JULY 14



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SECRETARY DANIELS AT THE BASTILLE DAY MEETING, MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

demand that the American children of naturalized parents shall be not hyphenated persons but full-fledged Americans, thinking in English and not hampered by reminiscent group associations. But we expect to cultivate ever closer relations with the free nations of Europe, and there is reason to believe that the generous and chivalrous attitude of America towards France will be both permanent and of great value in a world that is trying to learn how to live on honest and neighborly terms. One of the best practical ways of expressing friendship is that of our numerous American colleges which are now giving scholarships to representative young French women, so many of whose fathers and brothers have lost their lives since 1914. Paris has named a street for President Wilson, New York proposes to name one for General Joffre, and meanwhile thousands of American women are working for the relief of French orphans.

*Holland's  
New Democ-  
racy*

The democratic tendencies in western Europe have been illustrated in the general elections held early in July for a new parliament in Holland. The number of voters under the new law is increased by 50 per cent. The voting age in Holland has long been fixed at twenty-five years, instead of twenty-one as with us. Until now there were restrictions which shut out one-third of the men above this age of twenty-five. These have been removed, and there are now a million and a half voters instead of a million. Women are not yet enfranchised in Holland, but under the new law they are permitted to be candidates, and there were twenty-one women running for parliament last month, of whom it is reported that several were elected. The election does not yet seem to have resulted in any radical changes in the government's policies, and the endeavor to maintain strict neutrality is supported by all groups and parties as necessary to Holland's independent existence. The practical difficulties of Holland's position do not grow less as Germany from time to time makes demands for animal food supplies that impair Holland's ability to obtain breadstuffs from America. The sympathies of the Dutch are undoubtedly increasingly anti-German as the war goes on. It was announced on July 15 that Queen Wilhelmina had asked Deputy Nolens, head of the Catholic party, to form a new cabinet to replace that of Premier van der Linden.

*Politics  
in  
Germany*

We have already alluded to the postponement of the promised franchise reforms in Prussia. Passage of a franchise bill through the lower house in Prussia does not mean that it will be accepted by the upper chamber. The Reichstag, meanwhile, after hearing some memorable speeches and experiencing some disagreeable incidents, has adjourned for a period of weeks or months. Last year we were told that the Reichstag was to have some influence over the cabinet and the political administration, so that the people's representatives might begin to be a ruling body in faint imitation of the British and French parliaments. But the circumstances last month under which von Kuehlmann was dismissed as Foreign Minister, and a pan-German henchman of von Tirpitz was chosen to succeed him, showed plainly that there is to be not even the pretense of consulting the Reichstag. Von Kuehlmann had made a speech which met with approval neither at home nor abroad. He had offended the militarists in their hour of extreme arrogance by the shocking admission that peace could not be gained through military victory. He announced also that Russia, rather than England, was guilty of starting the war. Germany's aims, he said,



KUEHLMAN IS GONE, BUT HIS WORDS HAUNT  
From the *Daily News* (Dayton, Ohio)

were limited to her existence within her historical boundaries, freedom of the seas, and a colonial empire suited to her wealth and commerce.

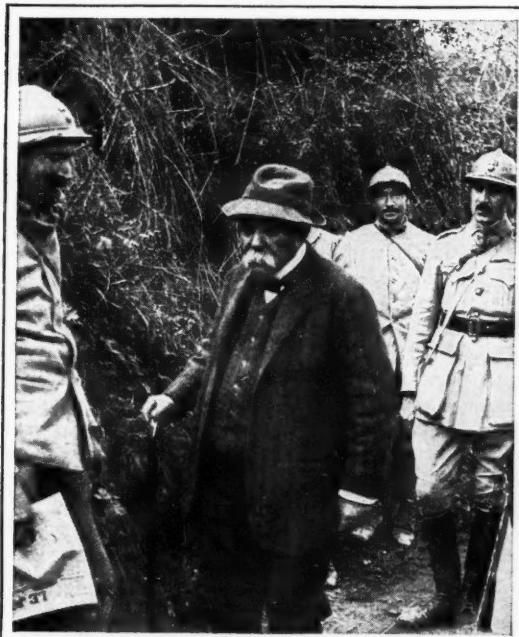
*Speeches  
and  
"Pawns"*

The Chancellor, von Hertling, tried to explain von Kuehlmann's words and abate the wrath of the militarists; but von Kuehlmann, whose speech had undoubtedly been submitted to his masters in advance, was promptly sacrificed. These German utterances were all too evidently insincere to be taken seriously in France, England, or America. It was obvious that the German Government was trying to persuade England and France to accept German withdrawal from the West, and permit German exploitation of Russia with Austrian control of the Balkans. Speaking on July 11, before the adjournment of the Reichstag, Chancellor von Hertling referred to President Wilson's Fourth of July address and to remarks by Mr. Balfour, England's Foreign Minister. He declared that Bel-



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PRIME MINISTER LLOYD GEORGE, WITH HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER



PREMIER CLEMENCEAU OF FRANCE, TALKING WITH SOLDIERS AT THE FRONT

gium was being held merely as a "pawn," by which he meant that it would be traded for Germany's former colonies and other considerations. He also declared that Germany must be allowed to hold all she had extracted from Russia in the Brest-Litovsk treaty. His remarks were not regarded in the Allied countries as opening the way for peace negotiations.

*Vienna  
Manners and  
Politics*

Later in the month, on July 16, there appeared from the pen of Baron Burian, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, a somewhat sensational tribute to the genius of President Wilson, whose four points as printed by us on a previous page were accepted as sound in principle. This, however, seems to be good Vienna manners as compared with bad Berlin manners, rather than the extending of a real olive branch. Baron Burian goes on to denounce the Allies for their annexationist

intentions, and says that nothing stands in the way of peace except territorial aims, such as the French demand for Alsace-Lorraine, the Italian demand for Trieste and the Trentino, and the unwillingness to give back the German colonies. He also criticizes very bitterly the disposition of the Allies to take up the internal questions of Austria and to support the pretensions of the Czecho-Slovaks, Jugoslavs, and other non-German and non-Magyar peoples.

*Internal Problems of Austria* He is perhaps sincere in his supposition that little or nothing is known outside of Austria-Hungary regarding these complex issues. During the past year, however, the Italians, French, English and Americans have had excellent opportunity to study these questions, and may now claim to know something about them. Our readers will remember Professor Frary's article on the methods by which the majority races in Austria-Hungary are subjected to German and Magyar overrule through unjust franchise laws. At this very time, under pretense of liberalizing these unfair restrictions, the Hungarians are apparently making the situation worse than ever, while the ruling element at Vienna is planning to keep the Bohemians and other non-German elements in permanent subjection. If Baron Burian and the Austro-Hungarian statesmen will provide full freedom, on the American or English plan, for all the peoples now under Hapsburg dominion, there might come about, by peaceful processes of domestic political reform, a great federated state that would be a good neighbor to Italy, would encourage federation on fair terms in the Balkans, and would be a most admirable member of the future association of governments and states. But the denial of freedom and equal rights is forcing upon the attention of the world the just demand of these downtrodden peoples, and so we have the proposal to create an independent South Slav republic, an autonomous Bohemia, and a restored Poland.

*Peace Only Through War Effort* It has seemed that the peace talk of German and Austrian statesmen had some direct relation to the tremendous military operations that were scheduled by the German General Staff for that very time. Every suggestion of peace that comes from Germany is shaped by military exigencies. Germany wishes to end the war successfully on land, and to hold some-

thing that she can trade for permission to enjoy full access to the oceans and control of a great colonial empire. It will not be possible to make peace until a different sentiment is born within Germany, and until sound reason obtains influence in the councils of the Central Powers. The continued fighting in France is deplorable in its sacrifice of life, but there seems no possible alternative except to concentrate all efforts and resources for the defeat of the German armies. After several weeks of comparative quiet, the Germans renewed the heavy fighting on the Marne, in their pressure toward Paris, on July 15. Large bodies of American troops were engaged in the great battle, and their fine qualities were splendidly vindicated from the start. Mr. Simonds, in another part of this REVIEW, describes and analyzes the military situation. The movement of American troops had continued steadily through July, and the fresh arrivals from our cantonments were pronounced better trained than their predecessors.

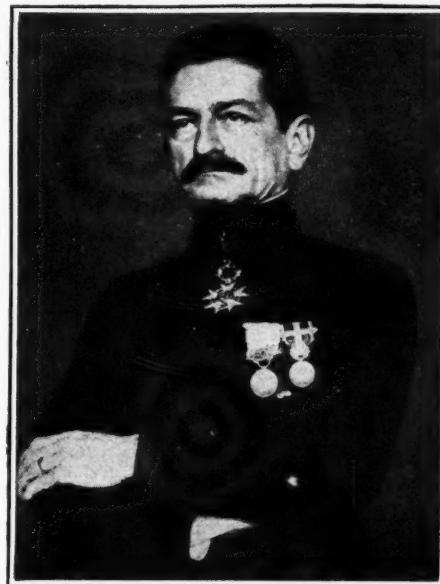
*Fine Cooperation Under Foch* It was notable, in view of the admitted ability of the German generals (Ludendorff is reported in command, with Hindenburg's illness rumored), that the Allies should have shown so much satisfaction in their own leadership after General Foch assumed supreme command. The unified control had been accepted not merely from necessity, but with surprising good-will and confidence. This fine spirit that pervades the Allied armies, with notable freedom from the kind of jealousies and disputes among generals that are so common in the pages of military history, is a great asset. Haig, Pétain, Pershing, and Diaz, with the scores of generals of lesser rank, are supporting Foch with a completeness of coöperation that is in itself worth a large army. Thus the situation on the Piave is treated with just as complete an Allied responsibility as that upon the Marne; while the Italian advance in Albania, and the signs of greater activity by the Greeks and the Allied forces at Salonica, are also to be noted now as under central control rather than as something sporadic. Even the perplexing situation in Russia, in so far as Allied military movements are concerned, is being subjected by the Allies to scrutiny from the standpoint of their one single military purpose, which is to defeat Germany. The problem facing the Allies this summer is almost exclusively military; and the mili-

tary men are not being worried or checked by the civil authorities.

**Allies Gain Initiative** Unity of command first showed its benefits in the checking of the April offensive, then in the transport coöperation which moved hundreds of thousands of Americans quickly across the ocean, next in the immense improvement of Allied morale, after which came the magnificent repulse of the Austrians and the Italian victory on the Piave, and finally the great counter-blow of French and American troops after the German attempt last month to take Rheims. Through these thrilling experiences, all of the principal Allied commanders had more than sustained their reputations. The names of Generals Foch and Pétain had become household words in America. We are now joining the French in praising General Joseph Mangin, under whose planning as army chief our American divisions achieved such brilliant success in last month's fighting towards Soissons and southward. Generals Gouraud and Mangin are in every way equal to the von Bülow and Mackensens and Falkenhayns, while, of course, far superior to such titular army heads as the German Crown Prince, Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, and the others. As fighting men, all the Allied armies are to-day superior in dash and morale to their enemies. We are also of opinion that Foch's strategic management is quite as competent as that of Ludendorff and the German General Staff. Mr. Simonds shows that Allied man-power is now becoming superior, and victory is certain if the shipyards and machine shops do all that is required of them.



GEN. H. J. E. GOURAUD  
(Who commanded the American and French troops that resisted the opening attacks of the Germans in the great drive that began early July 15)



GEN. JOSEPH MANGIN  
(Who commanded the French and American forces in the great counter-offensive between the Aisne and the Marne that began July 18)

*Now for Speeding Up War Industries* We are rapidly proceeding to fill up the camps and cantonments with newly drafted men, as they are emptied by the constant movement of division after division to the Atlantic transports. From this time forth the question of supplies of all kinds is likely to be relatively more pressing than that of numerical strength. The Germans have been making their great gains this year, so it is asserted, through their superiority in the development of the chemical industries which supply them with gas shells and bombs, particularly of the kind known as "mustard gas." We believe in America that our men, other things being equal, are better fighters than the Germans. But the Germans began the war, four years ago, with an immense preponderance in machine-guns, artillery of all kinds, and the other appliances which have made this war a war of industries, laboratories, and inventions. America does not wish to have her boys sacrificed through lack of the means with which to defend themselves against German devices. We are told of wonderful new things that our experts have contrived, that will be deadlier and more effective than Germany's gas or aircraft or submarines. The German advantage is in producing immense quantities of the things that she has found to prove effective. Last month it was an-

nounced that the United States Government had taken control of the chlorine-gas industry. The manufacture of aircraft is beginning to show practical results. If the war is to continue through another year or more, we shall be able to outdo the Germans in the making of war appliances, especially aircraft. Time is with the Allies.

*Our  
Brave  
Aviators*

There is nothing in the present war—perhaps nothing in all the annals of mankind—that can be compared for sheer novelty and audacity with the rapid development that has been made during the past year in aerial warfare. The relative failure of last month's offensive was in great part due to the excellent service rendered to the Allies by the observers who hovered over the scene and noted the massing of German troops. Pontoon bridges across the Marne were destroyed by bombing planes that swooped low and accomplished marvels. Other bombing planes carried many tons of explosives far behind the German lines, to interfere with railroad movements, to destroy ammunition dumps, and for like military purposes. There were many thrilling combats in the air against enemy aviators. Gradually the young Amer-

ican flyers have been taking part in this perilous work in numbers increasing from month to month. Typical of these American boys of dauntless courage was Lieutenant Quentin Roosevelt, whose disappearance in an air fight was reported July 17. He was the youngest son of Colonel Roosevelt, whose three other sons have all of them seen hazardous service. The eldest, Major Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., has suffered seriously from gas, after protracted and notable work at the front. The next son, Kermut, has been a Captain in the English army fighting in Mesopotamia, but is now transferred to the American army in France. The third son, Captain Archibald Roosevelt, has had grave wounds from which his recovery will be tedious. We mention these brave sons of a famous father not because they are more brave than the sons of other American parents, but because they are representative and typical. Later news told of Quentin's death, and burial with honors by the enemy.

*Death of  
John Purroy  
Mitchel*

The sympathy felt for Colonel John Purroy Mitchel and Mrs. Roosevelt in the city and State of New York, as well as throughout the country, was universal and profound. Only a few days before his own saddening news, Colonel Roosevelt had officiated as a pallbearer at the funeral of Major John Purroy Mitchel, than which a more impressive demonstration has hardly ever been witnessed in the city of New York. Upon his defeat for re-election in the mayoralty campaign, last November, Mr. Mitchel at once sought army service. He had been trained in the Plattsburg summer camps, and, being a natural leader of men, would have made an excellent infantry officer or would have filled an army administrative post with success. He was eager, however, to serve; and since no other opportunity seemed so readily available, he accepted a commission in the aviation service and took training as a flyer in southern California. His death occurred on July 6, through an accident while flying at an aviation field in Louisiana. Although still a young man, John Purroy Mitchel's career and services in New York had lifted him to the ranks of the leading public men of the country. He had been identified with the most successful attempt ever made to redeem a great American city for businesslike administration and for social progress. His name had stood for the period in which New York City became recognized as one of the best governed of the



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A SNAPSHOT OF LIEUTENANT QUENTIN ROOSEVELT

great population centers of the world. He was intelligent and efficient, but his foremost trait was his courage. It would be useless to recount the curious and mercurial shifting of public sentiment that had refused him, last fall, a second term. The tributes evoked at his death showed that the heart of New York had not rejected him, and that its intelligence had always recognized his merits.

*Colonel Roosevelt at Saratoga* Colonel Roosevelt had been expected to address a Republican State convention at Saratoga on the eighteenth, the next day after his news of Quentin's fall behind the German lines. He kept the engagement, and was received with enthusiasm by all groups and elements of the party. Under the primary system, the old-fashioned nominating conventions are no longer held. This year the State committee had gone so far as to abandon the plan of a representative gathering for the adoption of a platform. It was their intention to renominate Governor Whitman in the primaries for a third term. Senators Wadsworth and Calder took the lead in calling for an unofficial gathering at Saratoga to formulate party sentiments and positions. The State committee and the Whitman supporters finally joined in the plan, and it was this convention that Colonel Roosevelt addressed. The Hon. Sloat Fassett, whose own three sons are in the war, made the opening speech as temporary chairman and presented Mr. Roosevelt. The convention took on a new character by reason of the presence of many women as delegates—one of these, the well-known suffrage leader, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, being made chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. The Roosevelt speech was a plea for the unifying of our American nationality and for the vigorous prosecution of the war. He argued that the Republican minority in Congress had supported war policies more strongly than the Democratic majority. And he believed it desirable that the Republicans should win control of Congress in this year's elections.

*Points of the Platform* The avowed object of the Saratoga conclave was to frame a party platform that would influence Congressional and State elections elsewhere as well as in New York. Incidentally, it was a conference for the informal discussion of candidates as well as measures. Those Republicans who are thinking wholly



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THE LATE MAJOR JOHN PURROY MITCHEL

in national terms were urgent in their demand that Colonel Roosevelt should allow himself to be made a candidate for Governor. The friends of Governor Whitman insisted upon a third term for their favorite. Other candidates except Whitman were anxious to withdraw in favor of Colonel Roosevelt. Whether or not the Colonel's consent could be won remained to be seen. The platform was strong for pushing the war; demanded universal military training; explicitly declared for a reading and writing knowledge of English as a qualification for all new voters; supported the submission of the Federal suffrage amendment; demanded a new child-labor law, and took advanced ground generally on social questions. It pronounced for the immediate leaguing together of the nations to secure peace and enforce justice. It advocated military as well as economic aid to Russia. It declared for open diplomacy as against secret treaties. It called attention to the need of preparation for the conditions that we must meet with the return of our soldiers. It recognized the need of a budget system for the management of national expenditure. It demanded a relaxing of the Government control of industry after the war necessity is past; and declared against permanent Government ownership.

*"Politics" and the Nation's Program* A few weeks ago, President Wilson gave currency to the phrase "Politics is adjourned." It is true that the best sentiment of the country demands the sincere and earnest support of every measure of the Administration that is intended to make for the success of our accepted policies. It is the general opinion that President Wilson has shown great intellectual and moral qualities of leadership; and his ability to master and use the Democratic party for large things has been a constant surprise. The President undoubtedly is willing to have "politics adjourned"; but there has never been a moment for more than a hundred years in which Democratic politicians took a real vacation; and Republican politicians have been fairly incessant for fully sixty years. In the elections of 1916, the Republicans failed by the merest fluke to win the Presidency and the House of Representatives, and their party has not retired from business. In our opinion, all leading parties have risen wonderfully to the support of the nation's cause in this time of emergency. It has been a good thing for the Democratic party to have to shoulder so much practical responsibility. Many of its leaders have grown in power and in public esteem, under the tests of the past year.

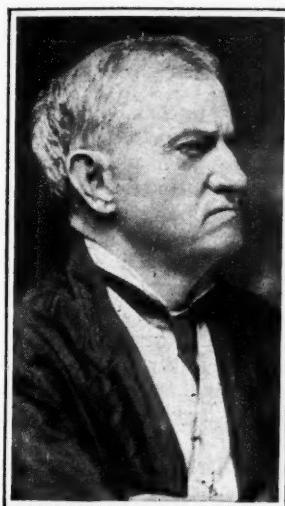
*Country Above Party*

But while many Democrats have rendered stalwart service, there is a feeling among Republicans that much of the best talent of the country has been pushed aside for party reasons at a time when in all other countries the experienced leaders of all parties were fully employed in Government service. In the House, the Republicans and Democrats are almost evenly divided; yet on important points both sides are found voting with little dissent in support of Presidential measures. Thus the startling transfer of the telegraph and telephone systems was made with only four opposing votes. In any case the present Congress will function for seven full months longer, and the Wilson Administration for two years and seven months. The first regular session of the Congress to be elected this year will open in December, 1919. If Republicans should have the organizing majority in the next Congress, it is not likely that they would be more partisan than are the Democrats in this Congress; and it is probable that both parties would continue to support the President. The country is not in a partisan mood. It is determined to stand by its brave sons who have gone to France, and it proposes to concentrate all efforts for winning the war speedily.



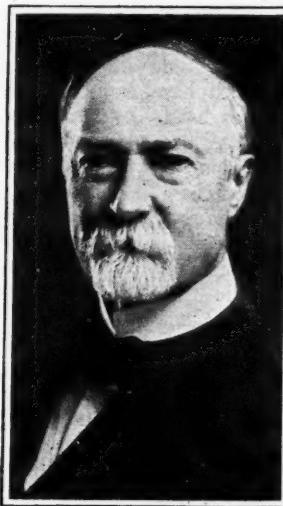
HON. WILL H. HAYS, OF INDIANA  
(Chairman of the Republican National Committee)

*The Changing Scenes of Party Strife* A national character was given to the meeting at Saratoga by the fact that Mr. Taft was also one of the chief speakers, and that Mr. Hays, the new chairman of the National Republican Committee, came from Indiana to make an address. It would be a palpable error to consider these men as actuated this year in their relation to public affairs by any motives except those of sincere patriotism. Their hearts are with the boys who have gone to fight, and their hopes are for righteous victory and the country's honor. Mr. Taft gave sober reasons for thinking a Republican Congress would serve the President's cause better than a Democratic. It will take another month to develop the issues and personalities of an autumn campaign that will evidently be moderate in tone and free from old-time party asperity. Some of the veteran leaders whose names have appeared lately in the obituary columns had been active in days when partisanship was indeed bitter and unrestrained. Mr. Clarkson for years had swayed the opinion of Iowa, had later been a chairman of the National Republican Committee, and had filled offices under two or three



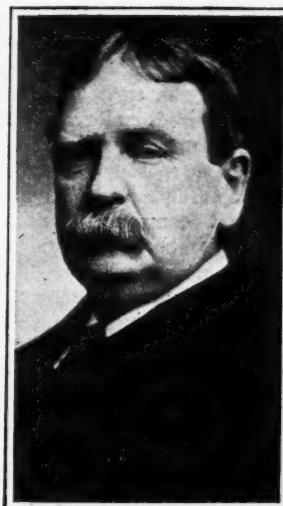
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BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN  
(Born 1847; died July 3)



© Bretzman

CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS  
(Born 1852; died June 4)



JAMES S. CLARKSON  
(Born 1842; died May 31)

**Presidents.** He had seen three generations of valuable public service in his own family. Mr. Fairbanks had been Senator and Vice-president, and through several decades a leading figure among the Middle Western Republicans. Mr. Tillman, after a long career in the storms of South Carolina politics and amidst changes at Washington, had come to be regarded as one of the surviving landmarks of the political period that followed the Civil War. With prejudices now laid aside, the whole country can speak with esteem and with kindly regret of these veteran participants in historic controversies that were inevitable in the period to which they belonged.

*Making "100 Per Cent." Americans* How practical the movement has become for building up a rounded and complete American nationality is well set forth in Dr. Wheaton's article which we publish this month. Dr. Wheaton is connected with the Bureau of Education, at Washington, and is the active head of a work that combines official and unofficial agencies in efforts to make true American citizens out of our recent immigrants. The army is doing its part; and the schools this coming year, more than ever before, will realize their duty as an agency for making American citizens. The language of the country, as Colonel Roosevelt well said at Saratoga, is that of the Declaration of Independence. The early Dutch of New York gave up their language and became English-speakers. The sons of Germans and

Scandinavians and Frenchmen have done the same. The cherishing of ancestral memories is not only right but natural and desirable; allegiance, however, is forward-looking, not reminiscent. When Europeans come to America they are making a home for their children and their children's children. We want none here of the other type. We are not going to be less national after this war, but more national by a great deal. The more thoroughly Americanized our inhabitants become, the better member we shall be of a peace-keeping society of nations. We are not going to merge or lose our American identity in consequence of our helping European peoples to protect their respective rights as self-determining nations and states. Our immigration laws have already been changed in anticipation of the post-war rush, and we must also change our naturalization laws. Our new immigration act lets in those who can read any sort of language; but our naturalization laws must be changed so that no man, whether foreign-born or native-born, may be allowed to vote until he can both speak and read the English language, can show that he is a useful member of society, and can give evidence of some knowledge of the methods and principles of our system of democratic government.

*Millions of "W. S. S." Purchasers* Few things have so impressed Europeans with the greatness and unity of our American people as the fact that more than seventeen mil-

lion people subscribed for the last Liberty Loan. Mr. Frank Vanderlip, who writes for this number of the REVIEW on the growth of the thrift movement which has been organized under his direction as head of the committee, makes the surprising announcement that about thirty-five million individuals are pledged to the regular purchase of Thrift Stamps and War Savings Stamps. Our foreign-born elements are better trained in habits of economy than the older American elements. It was thought incredible that the proposed maximum amount of two thousand million dollars could be put into Thrift Stamps within the first year of the movement, beginning last December. It now seems probable that this will be realized.

*What It  
Means to  
America*

The value of this movement for the purposes of winning the war is not so much due to the accumulation of money for Government use as to the exercise of economies which release "goods and services" for war use. The more extensively and completely a nation is able to divert its labor and materials to war objects, the stronger it is for victory. Germany has set the great example in this regard, and France and England have been learning the lesson. Mr. Lamont showed us in his article for last month's REVIEW that Uncle Sam can get his money more easily than he can spend it. If the wool and cotton are kept for civilian uses, and the mills are employed making fabrics to meet the demands of fashion, it will be just so much harder for the Government to equip the soldiers with uniforms, shoes, and other things. Meanwhile, the practise of thrift will benefit the individual and his family, and will create an immense total of available new capital with which to carry on business after the war. Capital in the future will be supplied by the coöperation of millions of workers, out of their savings, rather than by individuals controlling colossal fortunes. This period of high wages, if saving is practised, will result in a wholesome popular distribution of wealth. This is conservatism of the safe and healthy kind.

*Educating  
the Children  
for Their Part*

Dr. Strayer, the newly elected president of the National Education Association, follows Mr. Vanderlip's article with an account of the activities among the school children for thrift and saving as a part of the "W. S. S." system. Dr. Strayer has himself had direc-

of this movement during the past year, and his opportunities for patriotic work will be still greater during the coming year by reason of his leadership of the great national organization of our teachers. We have learned from bankers and managers of safe-deposit vaults that a great many new investors have been so unfortunate as to lose their Liberty Loan certificates through failure to put them in places of safety. Many others are losing their War Savings Stamps. A New York banker, Mr. Mattox, tells our readers in a simple and direct way that they should not fail to establish relations with a savings bank or some other financial institution. The bankers will safely protect War Savings Stamps or Liberty Loan certificates left in their care. All of the post-offices and all of the financial institutions will gladly help every man, woman, or child to buy stamps or Liberty Bonds, or to exchange the one kind of investment into the other. After the disastrous war with Germany, nearly half a century ago, the French people paid off a large indemnity because they knew how to buy government bonds. They have maintained French credit ever since through lending their money to the Government habitually. Every French working man or woman knows exactly how to proceed in such transactions as converting small savings into interest-bearing obligations of France. Mr. McAdoo, Mr. Vanderlip, and other leaders must go still farther in their plans and methods for bringing the Treasury and the banker into simple and direct relationship with the wage-earner.

*The Food  
Situation  
Finely Met*

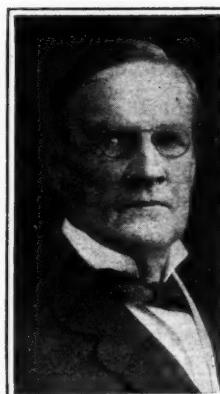
So far as the Allies are concerned, the food situation is favorable for this year, and safe for two years. Great Britain has risen to great heights in her demonstration of the possibility of home production. Wheat acreage in England is much increased, and so is that of potatoes, while vegetable gardening has been expanded beyond all expectations. This means less demands upon ocean tonnage to supply the British deficit of bread and meat. Reports from France and Italy are favorable as regards this year's wheat crop. We are referring in another paragraph to the splendid prospects for our own crops of 1918. Mr. Hoover (who, by the way, visited England last month) has made for the President a most encouraging review of the work of the Food Administration for the year which ended June 30. We had shipped more than

3,000,000,000 pounds of meats and fats to Allied destinations, as compared with 2,166,500,000 the previous year. Our shipment of cereals had increased from 260,000,000 bushels to nearly 341,000,000. Early this year the food control of England and France asked us to send 75,000,000 bushels of last year's wheat crop, in addition to all that had been asked and promised. Mr. Hoover says that we have actually made this 85,000,000, although our surplus was more than exhausted when the request came. He emphasizes the fact that we had a very short wheat crop last year, and failure of much of our corn crop to mature properly. He attributes the wonderful figures of our wheat export to the willing self-denial of the American public. Meanwhile, deserved tributes have been paid to the work of the late Lord Rhondda (better known as the Welsh coal baron, David A. Thomas) who as British Food Controller had put England on rations and tided over the most critical year of the war. His death occurred on July 3.

*Our Farmers  
of the  
Future*

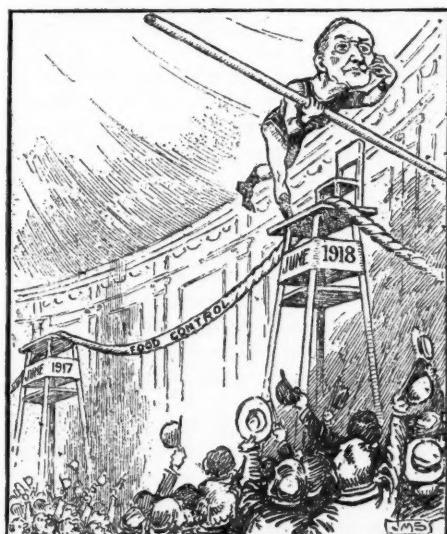
Mr. Hoover has had the unfailing coöperation of millions of women in their household management and of many thousands of hotels and restaurants. To eat less meat and a variety of vegetable products will benefit rather than hurt most Americans. Our brilliant friend, Mr. Lou D. Sweet, of

the Hoover organization at Washington, told the readers of this REVIEW last month about the making and the value of potato flour. Government money, if necessary, ought to establish an immense potato-flour mill in Maine, another in Colorado, one in northern New York, and two or three for sweet potatoes in the South. Properly made, potato flour affords the solution of a great problem, that of stabilizing potato prices and utilizing the potato surplus. This is one illustration of the great progress that lies ahead of our agriculture when science and public policy can act together in a large and bold way. We are publishing two thoughtful and able articles this month, looking to the future of our agriculture,



LORD RHONDDA

one from the South and the other from the far West. The first is from Clarence Poe, of North Carolina, editor of the *Progressive Farmer* and one of the ablest leaders of the whole region south of the Potomac and east of the Mississippi. He proves that agriculture in the future must command high prices for its products, in order to maintain and build up our soils and to keep in use the Eastern lands which were temporarily put out of commission by the flood of products from the prairies.



THE FIRST STAGE OF A FINE PERFORMANCE  
From the *Western Mail* (Cardiff)

*Policies  
for States  
to Consider*

Our California article represents the efforts and views Dr. Elwood Mead, who is taking the lead on behalf of his State government in a new and scientific form of agricultural colonization. Secretary Lane, of the Interior Department, in his proposals for providing returned American soldiers with opportunities to take up farming, has in mind certain projects and methods that are in line with what Dr. Mead is demonstrating. A leader like Clarence Poe ought to inspire the State governments of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia to adopt farm policies involving the advance of a few millions of dollars of State money with which to establish returning soldiers in those States,

enabling them to acquire improved farms properly equipped, on a plan of installment payments covering perhaps a thirty-year period. Our States should no longer be afraid of doing big things for their own welfare. We have in mind especially the promotion of farming, the making of country roads, and the full provision of the best practical schools throughout the country districts.

*Militarizing  
the  
Colleges*

President Hibben of Princeton contributes to this issue of the REVIEW an account of the plans which will go into effect next month for bringing that great institution under military discipline. Princeton has taken a leading part in helping to formulate a system that Secretary Baker and the War Department have announced as applicable to colleges in general throughout the country. We hope that parents will feel no hesitation in sending their eighteen-year-old boys to college, and in giving full consent to the plans as worked out. By shortening vacations, it will be made possible to graduate in three years instead of four. The colleges already have facilities which the army cannot create, for training officers in ways that will fit them for various special lines of service. There has now been formed a new organization in the army, known as the Students Army Training Corps. The Government provides uniforms and equipment and military supervision and instruction. It proposes to hold six-weeks summer camps for more intensive military work, during which the students will receive the pay of army privates. Enlistment in the freshman year is expected, but it is the army plan to keep the students in college until they have graduated, even if beyond the age of twenty-one, provided they are in training for some particular purpose. Special camps are now being held, at Plattsburg, N. Y., Fort Sheridan, Ill., and the Presidio, California, to train faculty members and others for helping to carry on the instructional work of the Students Army Training Corps.

*How  
to Help  
Russia*

During July the Allied nations were continuing to discuss the question how to help and relieve Russia, and to prevent the complete control of Russian domains by the Germans. A limited Allied force was landed at Kola to help the natives who were opposing the advance of the Germans and Finns. The most sensational situation was that created by the Czecho-Slo-

vak troops, who were holding a long stretch of the Siberian Railroad and massing at Vladivostok. These consisted of Bohemian and kindred regiments, formerly of the Austrian army, who had allowed themselves to become prisoners of war in Russia and who for several months had been trying to make their way out of Russia and across Siberia, with a view to joining the Allies in France. In some quarters it has been thought possible to use these men as a nucleus for driving Bolsheviks and German influences from Siberia. It was reported, after the middle of July, that Japan and the United States had come to an agreement upon a plan for immediate military intervention, to be followed by a large project of Red Cross relief and economic aid. No definite statements had been made at Washington when these pages were closed for the press. The German point of view regarding Russian collapse, as set forth by Dr. Hans Delbrück, will be found summarized in our "Leading Articles of the Month."

*Distress  
in Persia and  
Turkey*

Conditions in Turkey have not been fully reported of late; but from the Armenian and Syrian Relief Committee, through its exceptional facilities, we learn of terrible famines and widespread epidemics. The organization is about to change its name in view of its expanding work for the races and peoples of western Asia. It has now sent an important relief expedition to Persia, under the capable leadership of President Harry Pratt Judson of the University of Chicago. This movement is strongly supported by the American Red Cross, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the advice and coöperation of our State Department. In the near future we shall deal more extensively with these conditions in Persia and Turkey.

*The  
Lawmakers  
in Recess*

Congress in the middle of July agreed upon a virtual adjournment for about five weeks. The Ways and Means Committee will, meanwhile, work upon the details of what must be the largest of all tax-bills in legislative history. It had been agreed without opposition to authorize a fourth "Liberty Loan," this time of \$8,000,000,000. An army appropriation bill carrying \$12,000,000,000 had been passed, and total government outlays for the coming year are authorized to the amount of \$24,000,000,000. Great things were done easily and unanimously. Some matters of detail provoked debate and con-

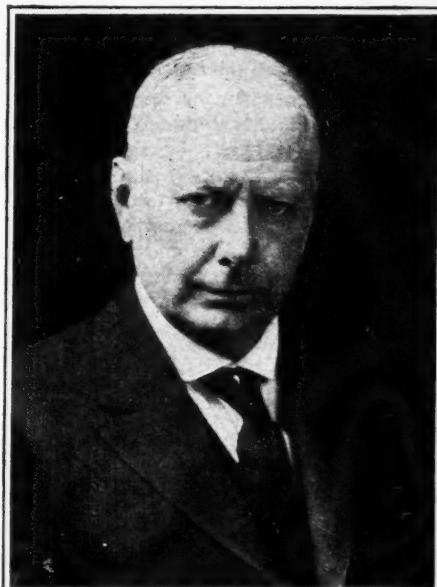
sumed time. One of these was the price of wheat,—a thing better suited to executive action than to the fiat of law-makers. Upon the whole, the session has been creditable.

*The Nation  
Takes Over the  
Telegraph*

The strike of the telegraph operators, which had been called for July 8, was called off at the earnest request of Secretary of Labor Wilson and Mr. Gompers. It is understood that the representative of the operators, who yielded to their appeals, had been given definite assurance that the Government would take control of the telegraph lines if necessary. The House of Representatives had already rushed through a resolution granting the President power to take over both the telegraph and telephone systems of the country. The measure was pushed through the Senate with scarcely less haste, and the bill was signed by the President on July 16. The properties covered by the bill in its description of those that may, at the President's discretion, be conscripted into the nation's service, are "any telegraph, telephone, marine cable, or radio system or systems." The measure provides for the Government control of the lines during the war, and for a "just compensation" to the present private owners. It is symptomatic of the haste with which this very large and important piece of business was transacted that there is not the slightest attempt to prescribe what "just compensation" shall be. In the case of the taking over of the railways there was a very specific definition of the compensation, which apparently left only small and non-essential matters to be thrashed out; and yet six months after the roads were taken over the Government and stockholders had not agreed on the form of contract.

*The  
Question in  
Congress*

As a legislative and political matter, this question of the "wires" was the dominant one at Washington during the first half of July. Congress desired to take a recess for a few weeks, but the President insisted upon action on the telegraph resolution first, and his influence prevailed. The House voted after two hours' debate with only four members in opposition. The Senate committee heard one witness—namely, Mr. Newcomb Carlton, president of Western Union Telegraph Company—after which the measure was favorably reported on July 9, by a vote of 7 to 3. The resolution granting power to the President to take over the wire lines finally passed the Senate on



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HON. ALBERT SIDNEY BURLESON  
(Who will be Director-General of the telegraph and telephone systems in conjunction with his administration of the Post-office Department)

July 13, by a vote of 46 to 16. Various amendments had failed after sharp discussion, one of these being an attempt to hold the telephone system under private control. It was stated at first that the President merely wished to have power, so that communication in war time might not be obstructed by a strike. But it became known later that it was the Administration plan to take over immediately, at one sweep, all the telegraph and telephone services of the country and all the ocean cable lines that could be commandeered without contravention of foreign rights. It was argued in the Senate that there might be involved a dangerous interference with the transmission of news and the liberty of the press; but the spokesmen for the Administration denied that any censorship beyond that which already exists would be exercised.

*Postmaster  
Burleson as  
Director*

The President had already decided that the wire services should come under the control of the Postmaster-General. In all foreign countries which have Government telegraph and telephone systems, their management is vested in that of the post-office. The telegraph and telephone systems of the United States in recent years have been far more efficient and satisfactory to the public than

before men like Mr. Vail, Mr. Carlton and others had tempered monopoly with public spirit and intelligence. The great fault of the Post-office department has always been its lack of continuity considered as a business enterprise. There has been crying need of a permanent director of the posts, who should be a business man of the kind of ability Mr. Vail or Mr. Carlton possesses. It has been an outrage that the postal service should have been subject to the vicissitudes of changing political administrations. The principal reason why so many competent and thoughtful men have for many years opposed Government ownership of telegraph and telephone lines has been the horrible example of party politics and business chaos in the management of the postal system. It will now become absolutely necessary that there should be non-partisan business administration of the services that are being taken over, precisely as we have non-partisan business management of the railroads under Mr. McAdoo. And it is to be hoped that the necessity of a businesslike management of telegraph and telephone lines may lead to putting the Post-office also on a business basis.

*Traditional  
Faults*

In many respects, Mr. Burleson has advanced the cause of a non-political postal service. He has stood with President Wilson and all right-thinking people against the party-spoils plan of giving postmasterships as personal or political rewards. He has earnestly desired to make the service better in every way than he found it. But the service has never been thoroughly studied—at least not for a great many years—from the standpoint of its operation as a business enterprise. Thus Congress has chosen to inflict upon the people of the country a radical change in certain postal rates, without having allowed the subject to be studied by a competent commission. For more than forty years the country has enjoyed a system of uniform rates of postage on second-class matter (newspapers and periodicals). In earlier times, rates had been based upon distances, and the subscriber had paid the postage at his local post-office. It was a great step in advance to have fixed the uniform rate (which was at first two cents a pound and then reduced to one cent) for the entire country. The present Congress has taken the backward step of creating a zone system, with increasing rates based upon distances. The new system became operative on July 1.

*A Backward  
Postal Step*

The change was made without knowledge or understanding in Congress, through the insistence of certain men who had rested their arguments upon a fallacious method of computing the cost of the service. Even at the low rate of one cent a pound, it could, we think, be shown (to a commission of thoroughly intelligent business men) that uniform distribution of newspapers and periodicals throughout the country has been a source of profit rather than of loss to the Government. And this, quite apart from the convenience to the public, and the advantages of a nation-wide diffusion of intelligence and opinion as against a more exclusively local kind of journalism. Thus under the old rates, the business done by the Review of Reviews Company with the post-office has been on such terms, considered as a whole, that any private company under like circumstances would have been glad to render the services for the amounts paid. Congress has so many matters to attend to that few of its members can study for themselves so technical a matter as the income and outgo of the Post-office Department. Therefore, we need a permanent business organization. Public control of the wire lines is a great experiment, and everyone must hope for its triumph over anticipated difficulties. Doubtless there are great possible advantages in consolidating services.

*Progress of  
the Crops*

The month of June brought bad weather for wheat, and the hope for a billion bushel crop was lost in a deterioration for the month estimated at 40,000,000 bushels. This brings the present forecast for wheat production in 1918 to something less than 900,000,000 bushels, still well above the five-year average. The weather has been harmful to other crops also to a less degree, but corn is expected to make a record in production, now estimated at 3,160,000,000 bushels, although the acreage is some 5 per cent. smaller than that of last year. This and the indicated yields of barley, rye, sweet potatoes and rice will make records for our agricultural history. The crops of oats, white potatoes, tobacco, and hay will all be larger than the average of the preceding five years.

*The Report  
on "Profit-  
eering"*

In the last weeks of June the Federal Trade Commission made a report to the Senate on war time profiteering, which brought many sensational headlines in the newspaper comment. A careful examination of the report

and of the protests against its charges made by a number of industrial concerns suggests that the Commission was unfortunate in its phrasing and in its selection of certain figures. The net result of the facts produced in the report did not justify the violent charges of scandalous profit-making that many newspapers found in the document on a first reading. For instance, the citation of a food concern making a profit of 2183 per cent. in our first war year furnishes the material for a highly sensational head line and much incitement of the public. But when a slightly more careful reading discloses that this concern was an individual with \$1000 capital, who had shown a loss of 484 per cent. in the previous year, the matter becomes ridiculous. In a more important item of the report, in the course of a denunciatory revelation of the profits realized by the great packing houses, the statement is made that one of the packers showed a profit of 263.7 per cent. on the capital stock. It is true, the report also states, that this profit amounted to 18.6 per cent. on the capital and surplus of the company, but the quoting of the 263.7 per cent. was, of course, the figure that would catch the public eye and it was a statement entirely useless except for the purpose of arousing criticism. The packers have made very energetic protest, and the individual concern just referred to states publicly that its profit for the year 1917 was 14½ per cent. on its investment. The largest packer asserts that its business is realizing a profit of one-quarter of one cent per pound of product.

*Price-Fixing  
and Profits* A fair analysis of the Commerce Commission's report does not produce any startling fact of general application other than that very large profits have accrued to American industries in 1917 because of the stupendous demand created by war conditions, a result accentuated in numbers of cases of the most efficient industrial concerns by the Government's policy of price fixing, which was bound to produce great profits for those businesses turning out their product at the lowest cost. In other words, with a copper price set by the Government high enough to afford a profit to the mines producing under the least favorable conditions—necessary in order that the vitally important quantity production should be achieved—and with every pound of copper snapped up by the war demand, it was entirely inevitable that the mines pro-

ducing the metal at the lowest cost would show unprecedented profits. Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo had very clearly and fairly pointed this out in the course of his recommendations for a true excess war profits tax.

*Taking Rather  
Than Prevent-  
ing Profits* There is a growing body of opinion in the country that the true way to deal with the situation is not to rail at the people who have made profits, or to embark in hopelessly complicated schemes to prevent them from showing large gains and at the same time keep less fortunately situated concerns in the same line of business actively producing—but to look at the great earnings of industry with smiling satisfaction and promptly take them in the form of taxes (in so far as they are the result of war conditions) for the nation's war needs. The Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives has, it is understood, a very definite program for doing this. It should of course have been provided for in the last revenue bill. On July 13 Mr. Kitchin's committee closed the hearings, which had lasted nearly a month, in relation to the new \$8,000,000,000 revenue bill; and a few days later a skeleton draft of the measure was prepared. The amount of money aimed at is of course vastly greater than was ever before contemplated in a revenue raising measure, and it is already apparent that very radical taxing devices will be necessary. It is understood that in addition to a true war excess profits tax to be superimposed upon the existing unsatisfactory and unjust excess profits tax based on invested capital, the new bill will have recourse to largely increased income rates, and an elaborate schedule of so-called luxury taxes. One item of very great bulk in the making up of the eight billion dollars is contingent on the progress of a federal prohibition law. It is reported that the Ways and Means Committee are assuming that there will be no such prohibition law this autumn, and that they are safe in going ahead to figure on the liquor taxes as an important aid in their tremendous task. A definite proposal is the doubling of the present rates on alcoholic beverages which would bring the tax on whisky, for instance, from \$3.20 a gallon to \$6.40 and would, if there were no decrease in consumption, at one stroke raise nine hundred million dollars a year against half that sum paid last year by the liquor interests.

# RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From June 18 to July 19, 1918)

## The Last Part of June

June 18.—The British trooship *Dwinsk*, under charter by the American Government, is torpedoed in the western Atlantic while returning, without troops; 21 of the crew (British) are lost.

June 20.—The flooded Piave River endangers the positions of Austrian units which crossed during the first days of the offensive; the Italians begin a series of counter attacks.

June 21.—Premier von Seydler, of Austria, submits his resignation to Emperor Charles.

June 23.—The Austrian army begins a precipitate withdrawal across the Piave River, evacuating all territory gained in its recent offensive.

June 24.—The German Foreign Secretary, Dr. Richard von Kuehlmann, addresses the Reichstag on the military situation; he declares that Russia has been revealed as starting the war, the end of which "can hardly be expected through military decisions alone"; he states as Germany's war aims—existence within boundaries drawn for her by history, overseas possessions corresponding to her greatness and wealth, and the freedom of the sea.

The United States ratifies an agreement with Great Britain which permits the drafting into the British army of American citizens resident in Great Britain, and vice versa.

Herr Bahnhaus, Minister of Railways in the von Seydler cabinet, is invited by Emperor Charles to form an Austrian ministry.

June 25.—American troops capture an important position reestablished by the Germans in a corner of Belleau Wood, northwest of Château-Thierry, taking 240 prisoners.

Premier Lloyd George addresses Parliament on the Irish situation, regretting that a measure of self-government had not been established when conditions were favorable, and expressing a hope for normal conditions and a settlement even during the war.

June 26.—An official Italian statement places Austrian losses at 200,000 and explains that while Austrian withdrawal across the Piave has rendered improbable a new offensive, it has kept intact the enemy's defensive position.

A sugar-rationing system goes into effect in the United States, limiting private consumers to three pounds per month.

June 27.—It is announced at Washington that a regiment of United States troops has been ordered from France for immediate service in Italy.

The Canadian hospital ship *Llandovery Castle* is torpedoed by a German submarine without warning, the submarine commander claiming that it carried "eight American flight officers;" there are only 24 survivors of 258 persons on board.

Merchant shipping losses during May, according to official announcement of the British Admiralty, were: British, 224,735 tons; Allied and neutral, 130,959 tons—the total being slightly more than half the destruction in May, 1917.

June 28.—Allied attacks are successful against two points in the German line: southwest of Ypres, the British move forward nearly a mile and capture three hamlets; southwest of Soissons, the French advance more than a mile and capture important heights.

June 29.—The Austrian Emperor refuses Premier von Seydler's resignation, and summons the Reichsrath to meet on July 16.

The Hungarian Premier, Dr. Alexander Wekerle, in denying rumors of excessive losses in the recent unsuccessful offensive against Italy, admits that about 100,000 men were lost in killed, wounded and missing.

## The First Week of July

July 1.—Americans in the Château-Thierry sector again move forward, occupying the village of Vaux and taking more than 500 prisoners.

It is reported that American marines have been landed at Kola (an important Russian port in the province of Archangel), in coöperation with British and French naval forces, to protect vast military supplies.

July 2.—Official figures of American troops dispatched to France are made public—beginning with 1718 in May, 1917, and ending with 276,372 in June, 1918; the aggregate is 1,019,115.

July 3.—The United States transport *Covington* (formerly the German passenger steamer *Cincinnati*) is torpedoed and sunk on a return voyage, with a loss of six lives only.

July 4.—President Wilson, speaking at a Fourth of July celebration at the tomb of Washington (Mount Vernon), declares that: "The settlement must be final. . . . No half-way decision is conceivable," he sums up the things for which the associated peoples of the earth are fighting: "The reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind."

Australian troops, assisted by American infantry and a large number of "tanks," capture the village of Hamel, near Amiens.

A new provisional government of Siberia is established at Vladivostok, by the Czechoslovaks, whose program includes liberation from the Bolsheviks.

July 5.—The Prussian electoral reform bill is passed by the Chamber of Deputies and goes to the upper house (which will not meet until September).

July 6.—The German Ambassador to Russia, Gen. Count von Mirbach (declared by Kerensky to be the real ruler of Russia), is assassinated at Moscow.

The Italians drive the Austrians out of the coastal zone between the old and new Piave deltas, recovering ground held by the enemy since November; it is officially stated that Austrian prisoners taken since June 15 total 523 officers and 23,911 men.

Italian and French troops in Albania begin an attack against the long-standing Austrian line, near the Adriatic coast.

### The Second Week of July

**July 9.**—Dr. Richard von Kuehlmann, German Foreign Minister since August, 1917, resigns his office because of criticism over his recent speech in the Reichstag; Admiral von Hintze, for some time in the diplomatic service, is named as his successor.

The Russian Bolshevik government announces several military successes against Czecho-Slovak forces in the Volga region.

**July 10.**—Berat, a strategic town in Albania is captured by Italian troops, which advanced twenty-five miles in three days over a front of fifty miles.

**July 11.**—The German Chancellor, von Hertling, speaking in the Reichstag, describes as insults recent utterances of President Wilson and British Foreign Minister Balfour, who desire Germany's destruction; serious efforts for peace will be examined carefully, but the Russian treaty must stand; he refers to Belgium as "a pawn for future negotiations," there being "no intention to keep Belgium in any form whatever."

**July 13.**—An official report states that the British Air Force, during the year beginning July 1, 1917, destroyed 2150 hostile machines on the western front alone and drove down out of control 1083, besides 623 shot down by the navy.

France's "Bastile Day" is celebrated throughout the United States.

**July 14.**—Lord Robert Cecil (British Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Minister of Blockade), referring to discussion of trade after the war, declares that an economic association of twenty-four nations is already in existence.

### The Third Week of July

**July 15.**—The German drive toward Paris is renewed (after comparative quiet lasting a month), on a 56-mile front centering at Rheims, gaining an average of three miles on half the front; in the American sector, around Château-Thierry, a counter-attack forces 15,000 Germans back across the Marne.

Haiti declares war on Germany, the Council of State (with legislative power) acting upon the demand of President d'Artiguenave.

Lieut. Quentin Roosevelt (youngest of ex-President Roosevelt's four sons in service) is killed in an airplane fight over the German lines (see page 125).

**July 16.**—Baron Burian, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, submits to the Reichsrath a detailed report on peace discussions; he approves "heartily to a great extent" President Wilson's principles announced on July 4, and states that "we are prepared to discuss everything except our own territory."

**July 18.**—French and American forces launch a successful counter-attack against the western side of the salient in the German line, from Soissons to Château-Thierry (between the Aisne and the Marne), gaining from two to six miles along the whole front.

**July 19.**—The French War Office states that 17,000 German prisoners and 300 guns have been taken in two days.

The United States cruiser *San Diego* (formerly the *California*) is blown up and sunk off Long Island (N. Y.); 6 lives are lost; cause of explosion unknown.

**July 20.**—It is reported that General Ludendorff has succeeded Field Marshal von Hindenburg (rumors of whose death are incessant) as Chief of the German General Staff.

## RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From June 20 to July 20, 1918)

### PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

**June 22.**—In the House, the Fortifications bill is introduced, carrying immediate appropriations of \$500,000,000 for artillery and \$2,000,000,000 for ammunition; total appropriations and authorizations are \$5,435,000,000.

**June 24.**—The Senate passes the Sundry Civil appropriation bill (\$3,000,000,000); the general arbitration treaty with Great Britain is extended for a period of five years; a treaty with Great Britain, providing for the application of conscription to the citizens of each country who reside in the other country, is ratified.

The House adopts the Fortifications bill.

**June 28.**—The Senate rejects by decisive majorities several amendments to the Army bill which would extend the age limits of the Selective Draft law.

The House, after brief debate, passes a bill authorizing \$8,000,000,000 additional in bonds.

**June 29.**—Both branches repass the Post-office appropriation bill, eliminating the provision for maintaining mail tubes between sub-stations in large cities, which brought a Presidential veto.

The Senate passes the Army appropriation bill (\$12,000,000,000), the Fortifications bill (\$5,000,000,000), and the Sundry Civil appropriation bill (\$3,000,000,000).

**July 1.**—The House passes a new Urgency Deficiency bill, carrying \$1,000,000,000, and repasses the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bill, vetoed by the President, eliminating a provision establishing an eight-hour day (instead of seven) for Government employees; letters from the President, the Postmaster-General, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Navy are read, endorsing a pending resolution for Government control and operation of telegraph and telephone lines.

**July 3.**—The House passes a bill providing for the Fourteenth Census, in 1920.

July 5.—The Senate adopts, without amendment and without roll-call, the \$8,000,000,000 bond bill.

The House, by a vote of 221 to 4, adopts the resolution empowering the President to take over the telegraph and telephone systems of the country.

July 6.—The Senate adopts a joint resolution to adjourn until August 12; the House fails to act upon it.

The House passes the Agricultural appropriation bill (\$28,000,000), including a provision raising the guaranteed minimum price for wheat from \$2.20 per bushel (fixed by the President), to \$2.40.

July 13.—The Senate, by a vote of 46 to 16, adopts the resolution granting power to the President to take over telegraph and telephone systems for the period of the war.

July 14.—Both branches begin a virtual recess until August 19, suspending important legislation and meeting on Mondays and Thursdays only.

#### AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

June 26.—The Georgia legislature ratifies the prohibition amendment to the federal Constitution—the thirteenth State to approve the proposal.

In the North Dakota Republican primary, Governor Frazier (the farmers' Non-Partisan League candidate) is renominated; the successful Democratic candidate is S. J. Doyle.

Connecticut Republicans renominate Governor Holcomb.

June 27.—Connecticut Democrats, in convention, nominate Thomas J. Spellacy for Governor.

June 29.—The Federal Trade Commission submits to the Senate a report, after investigation, that many war industries (meat, flour, canning, leather, metals, coal, oil, etc.), are making "outrageous" profits.

July 7.—The Governor of South Carolina appoints Christie Benet to serve the unexpired term of the late United States Senator Tillman.

July 12.—The President vetoes the Agricultural appropriation bill, declaring that its uniform minimum price of \$2.40 a bushel for wheat is too high and that the Administration's method of regulating the price has proved satisfactory.

July 18.—Ex-President Roosevelt addresses an unofficial State convention at Saratoga, N. Y., designed to formulate Republican principles on a broad plane for the coming State and Congressional campaigns.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

June 22.—A rear-end railroad collision near Gary, Ind., causes the death of 78 persons, members of a circus.

June 28.—United States troops assume control of police at the terminal Canal cities of Panama and Colon, because of threatened disorders growing out of a postponed Presidential election.

July 4.—Ninety-five merchant vessels, aggregating 475,000 deadweight tons, are launched throughout the United States, as the shipyards' contribution to the Fourth of July celebration; seventeen war vessels are also launched.

July 5.—The sinking of an excursion steamer, the *Columbia*, damaged on a sandbank in the

Illinois River, near Peoria, causes the drowning of 100 persons.

July 9.—The Government's crop report reduces the wheat forecast to 891,000,000 bushels, but indicates a record corn yield of 3,160,000,000 bushels; all grains except oats show an increase over 1917.

A head-on collision between passenger trains, near Nashville, Tenn., causes the death of 100 persons, mostly negro workmen.

July 15.—Contracts are awarded for thirty large merchant ships to be built in Japanese yards, the total tonnage being 253,000 (in addition to 277,000 tons previously purchased or chartered).

July 16.—The Japanese battleship *Kawachi* blows up in Tokoyama Bay, 500 of the crew losing their lives.

#### OBITUARY

June 21.—Dr. Arthur Hamilton Cutler, founder and headmaster of a widely known preparatory school, 69.

June 22.—Most Rev. John Joseph Keane, retired Archbishop of Dubuque and formerly director of the Catholic University of America, 79.

June 24.—Dr. William M. Polk, veteran of the Confederate Army and a distinguished New York gynecologist, 73.

June 25.—James Douglas, a noted mining engineer and authority on copper, 80. . . . John K. Gowdy, of Indiana, former United States Consul General at Paris, 74.

June 29.—John A. Mitchell, founder and for thirty-five years editor of *Life*, 73.

July 2.—Rev. Washington Gladden, D.D., the noted Congregational minister and author, 82 (see page 203).

July 3.—Benjamin R. Tillman, United States Senator from South Carolina and chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, 71. . . . David Alfred Thomas (Viscount Rhondda), Food Controller of Great Britain, previously known as the "coal king," 62. . . . Mohammed V, Sultan of Turkey since 1909, 72.

July 5.—Rear Adm. Aaron Ward, U. S. N., retired, 66. . . . Cardinal Sebastiano Martinelli, formerly Apostolic Delegate to the United States, 70. . . . John William Sterling, long a distinguished member of the New York bar, 74.

July 6.—John Purroy Mitchel, U. S. A., recently Mayor of New York City, 39.

July 7.—Rev. George Mary Searle, former Superior General of the Paulist Order, and a noted astronomer, 79.

July 12.—Rt. Rev. Thomas F. Cusack, Bishop of the Roman Catholic diocese of Albany, 58. . . . Major Gen. George Whitefield Davis, U. S. A., retired, 79.

July 14.—John D. O'Rear, United States Minister to Bolivia, 48.

July 16.—Dr. Richard Rathbun, a noted naturalist and acting director of the Smithsonian Institution, 65.

July 17.—Rear Adm. Henry Buckingham Mansfield, U. S. N., retired, 72. . . . Prof. Arthur Martin Wheeler, of Yale, an authority on European history, 82.

# CARTOON COMMENT ON THE WAR



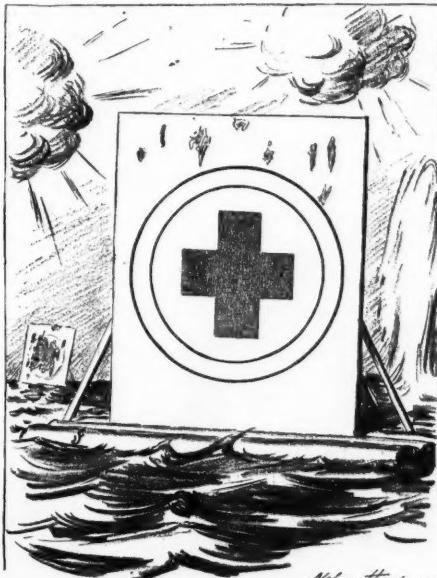
PROPERLY TRIMMED!

(The Austrian double-headed eagle met his match last month in Italy)

From the *Herald* (New York)



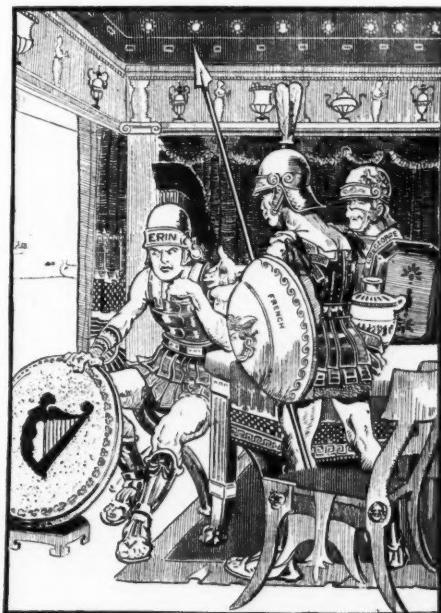
© Press Publishing Company.  
STATUES OF LIBERTY—OURS AND THE BASTILLE  
(From the *Evening World* (New York))



Nester Hading

TARGET PRACTICE IN THE GERMAN NAVY

From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)



STILL SULKING!

AJAX (Viscount French): "Achilles hath too long allowed his heart to cherish rancour and malignant hate."  
(The Iliad—Lib. IX)

From the *Passing Show* (London)



"KAMERAD!"

From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco)

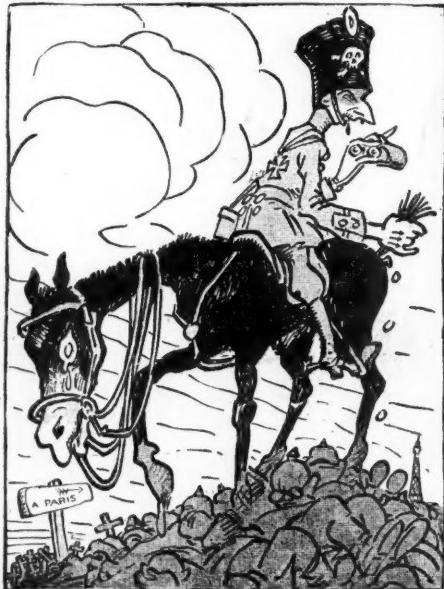
THREE of the four cartoons on this page have to do with Germany's desperate plight, at home and abroad. While famine stalks the land the Potsdam government sacrifices the secretary who blurted out a confession of military weakness. A Spanish cartoonist, meanwhile, ridicules the Crown Prince.



FOR HOME CONSUMPTION

From the *Post-Dispatch* (Columbus)

The opposite page is devoted to America's participation in the war.



THE ROAD TO PARIS

From the *Esquella* (Barcelona)

SILVER BULLETS

From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)



GERMAN HATE

THE KAISER: "I am smashing this Christopher Columbus. He is the schweinhund who discovered America."

From *Opinion* (London)



WHEN THEY THOUGHT THEY HAD WON

GERMAN: "We have conquered Russia, Rumania, Belgium, Montenegro, and Serbia. Now to settle with the Entente."

WILSON: "But wait half a moment. What about this?"  
From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)



THE OFFSPRING OF THE FOREIGN-BORN  
From the *American* (New York)



AMERICA BEGINNING TO TURN THE SCALES  
THE HUN: "Ach! But zey gain weight at ze critical time."

From *National News* (London)



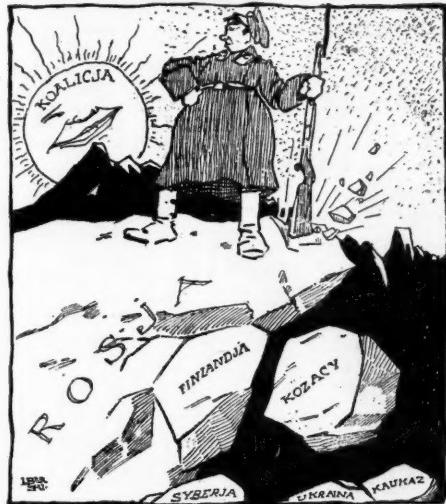
FIGHTING AGAINST TIME—THE BIG HAND ADVANCES  
From *John Bull* (London)



RUSSO-GERMAN AGREEMENT

GERMAN: "Gee up! I am here until the end of the world!"  
From *Mucha* (Moscow, Russia)

Various aspects of the complicated Russian situation are set forth on this page. Special interest attaches to the two Moscow cartoons



WOBBLY GROUND

BOLSHEVIK: "Nothing can move me, comrade. I stand as a wall!"  
ENTENTE: "Yes, for the moment, but when a few more pieces have fallen what will be left for you to stand on?"  
[The pieces are labeled "Finland," "Siberia," "Cossack-land," "Ukraine," and "Caucasus."]  
From *Mucha* (Moscow, Russia)

reproduced above. They show that the perils of the situation are appreciated on the ground. Below, at the left, the Dayton *News* man has pictured Germany's peaceful invasion of the Slav melon-patch.



SIC 'IM! SIC 'IM!  
From the *Daily News* (Dayton, Ohio)



HELP! BUT HOW?  
From the *Herald* (New York)



**PREMATURE REJOICINGS**  
Hurrah! Hurrah! Long live the Kaiser! Lutheranism! Calvinism!—and the true faith for Spain!  
From *Campana de Gracia* (Barcelona, Spain)



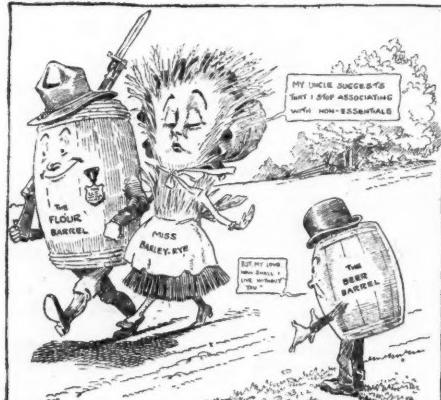
**IMMORTAL FRANCE**  
From *News of the World* (London)



**AT THE GATES**  
PRO-GERMAN SPANIARD: "Ha! They are at the gates!"  
DOUBTFUL DITTO: "At the gates of Paris,—or Hades?"  
From *Esquella* (Barcelona, Spain)



**A FRIEND IN NEED!**  
"Donnerwetter! Cardinal Hartmann!"  
"Majesty?"  
"Instruct the Pope at once to use his influence to prevent the Godless Entente from bombing us when we are shelling Paris churches!"  
From the *Passing Show* (London)



YOU MUST WEAR A UNIFORM THESE DAYS TO BE IN THE RUNNING

From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



PITY THE NEUTRAL—SWEDEN'S PLIGHT  
"No milk, no potatoes, no fruit, no meat, no fish, no butter, no friends!"

From the *Passing Show* (London)



MOTHER HUBBARD UP TO DATE  
Our old friend, Mother Hubbard, still goes to the cupboard,  
And it isn't by any means bare—  
Thanks to Rhondda and Clynes, she still breakfasts and dines,  
And yet has a little to spare.

From *John Bull* (London)



DINING AND "WHINING"

The Hun looks on with hungry eyes.  
To see John 'cutting down' supplies.  
He'd like to cut his own down, but  
He hasn't got the stuff to cut.

From *Reynold's Newspaper* (London)

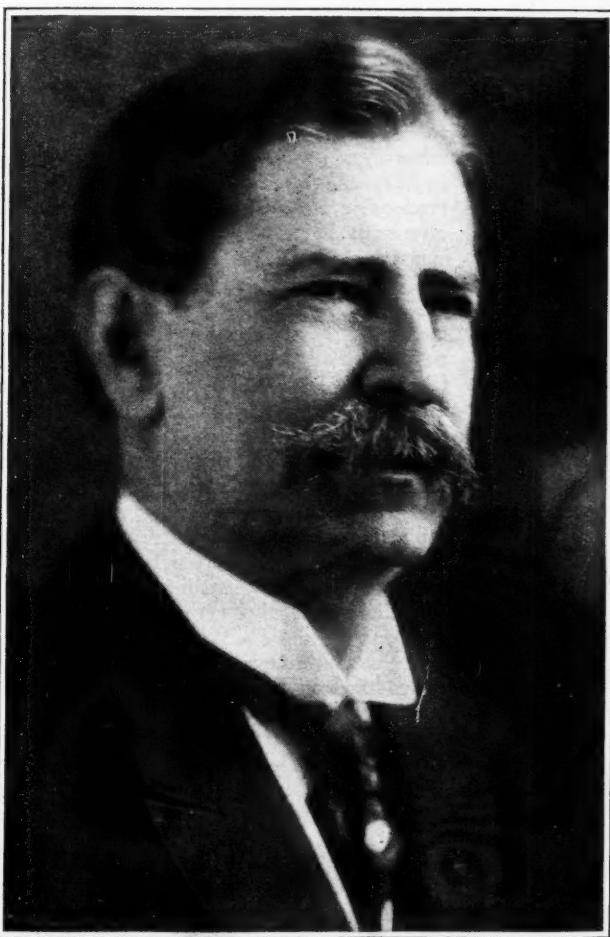


LEAFY JUNE  
From *London Opinion*



TRUE BOLSHEVIKISM  
From the *Evening Express* (Los Angeles)

# CHAIRMAN SWANSON OF THE SENATE NAVAL COMMITTEE



HON. CLAUDE A. SWANSON, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM VIRGINIA

THE new chairman of the Senate Naval Committee, Hon. Claude A. Swanson, of Virginia, has always been a "big navy man." He has been a member of the Naval Committee ever since he became a member of the Senate and one of his first speeches in the Senate in 1912 urged the necessity of increasing the navy. It is rather remarkable that this speech was one of the first official utterances indicating that the United States needed a large navy because Germany was a menace. In it Senator Swanson said: "Is the German Empire making prodigious expenditures for a great navy, with an im-

his efforts the legislation increasing the navy and getting it ready for the great war was carried on.

Senator Swanson is a native Virginian, born in the second year of the Civil War. When he was thirteen years old his father, who had been a prosperous merchant and manufacturer, lost his property. The boy turned to farm work and teaching and in course of time entered Randolph-Macon College. He was graduated from that institution in 1885. After studying law at the University of Virginia he practised that profession until his election to Congress. A. W. D.

mense naval policy of expansion extending to 1917, for the mere purpose of show and parade and as a harmless plaything for the mailed hands of her imperial ruler?"

Senator Swanson first entered public life as a member of the House of Representatives in 1892. In 1905 he resigned and became Governor of Virginia. After four years in this office he retired to private life for a short time, but was soon appointed to succeed the late Senator John W. Daniel. He has since been twice elected to the Senate, once to fill the unexpired term and again for a full term of six years. While in the House of Representatives he was a member of the Ways and Means Committee, and ranked both Champ Clark and Oscar W. Underwood, both of whom became prominent when the Democrats regained control of the House of Representatives.

Owing to the feeble health of Senator Tillman during his last years of service in the Senate, Senator Swanson has been acting chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs most of the time, and largely through

# FOCH STRIKES BACK—AFTER GERMANY'S FIFTH BLOW

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

## I. BETWEEN THE MARNE AND THE ARGONNE

ON Monday, July 15, the day following the French national holiday, the Germans launched their fifth considerable thrust of the present campaign and the fourth in the series designed to clear the road to Paris (the operation in Flanders in April having been manifestly a diversion, not related to the main strategic purpose of the Ludendorff campaign).

As it opened, the German offensive extended over a front of rather more than sixty miles between Château Thierry and the Main de Massiges, at the western edge of the Argonne Forest, and a landmark in the great French offensive of 1915. As the action developed, the front was extended northward between the Marne and the Aisne from Château Thierry to the outskirts of Soissons, a stretch of more than a hundred miles, along most of which the fighting is still proceeding fiercely as this article is written, on Friday, July 19.

In its inception the German plan seemed to be reminiscent of the earliest operation of the year, that great attack before St. Quentin, culminating in the disaster to the British which brought the Germans near to Amiens, for a moment threatening the continuity of the whole Allied front and the connection between the British and French armies. In July, as in March, the German attacked on a very wide front, obviously with the purpose of seeking a break, or several breaks, which he might exploit as he had exploited those made in the line of the British Fifth Army, between the Cambrai salient and the Oise, in the Battle of Picardy.

But all the various attacks failed of any larger fruits. Between Rheims and the Argonne Forest the gains were inconsiderable. The Fourth French Army, commanded by General Gouraud, a French colonial general who had won new laurels at the Dardanelles, held the German rush substantially on the front from which the French had ad-

vanced to their successful attack of last year, when Pétain took the Moronvilliers Heights in May and June. These heights were surrendered after a brief resistance, in accordance with the new French tactics. The Germans reached the Vesle southeast of Rheims and beat furiously upon the eastern side of the Rheims salient from Sillery to Beumont, but they were soon checked, and Prunay, taken in the early rush, was later retaken. Eastward to the Argonne the German attack was halted at once and in circumstances producing the greatest loss with the least conceivable profit. Eastward of Rheims the operation was almost from the outset and during the first four days a complete failure, and seemed to have been abandoned by the Germans after the first three days.

West of Rheims, within the deep pocket or salient created by the German success along the Aisne in May, both on the line between Rheims and the north bank of the Marne and on the south bank of the Marne between Dormans and Château Thierry, the Germans made a better beginning. On the whole front of the Marne they forced the crossing of the river on the first day, driving back a considerable American force in the corner of the Allied line south of Château Thierry and clearing the south bank of the river for miles on either side of Dormans.

Almost immediately, however, the Americans counter-attacked and pushed the Germans back over the Marne on the relatively narrow American front. By the second day of the battle such permanent advantage as remained to the Germans was before the French army south of Dormans and not in front of the Americans. A brilliant and successful series of counter-offensives by our own troops had not only re-established the Allied line on our front, but given the enemy the first real taste of American mettle. The American phase in the first two days was but a minor incident, but it had a real military value and it had a moral effect not to be mistaken either in London or Paris.

Despite their immediate reverse before the

Americans, the Germans, by the second day of the battle were well across the Marne. On a front of a dozen miles they had begun to climb the hills which lie a mile or two back from the level valley in which the sluggish stream flows, and were already beginning to reveal the second purpose of the Ludendorff attack by shifting their pressure from the southward to the eastward and seeking to remount the valley of the Marne, astride the river with Epernay as their immediate objective and the reduction of the whole Rheims salient as their obvious plan.

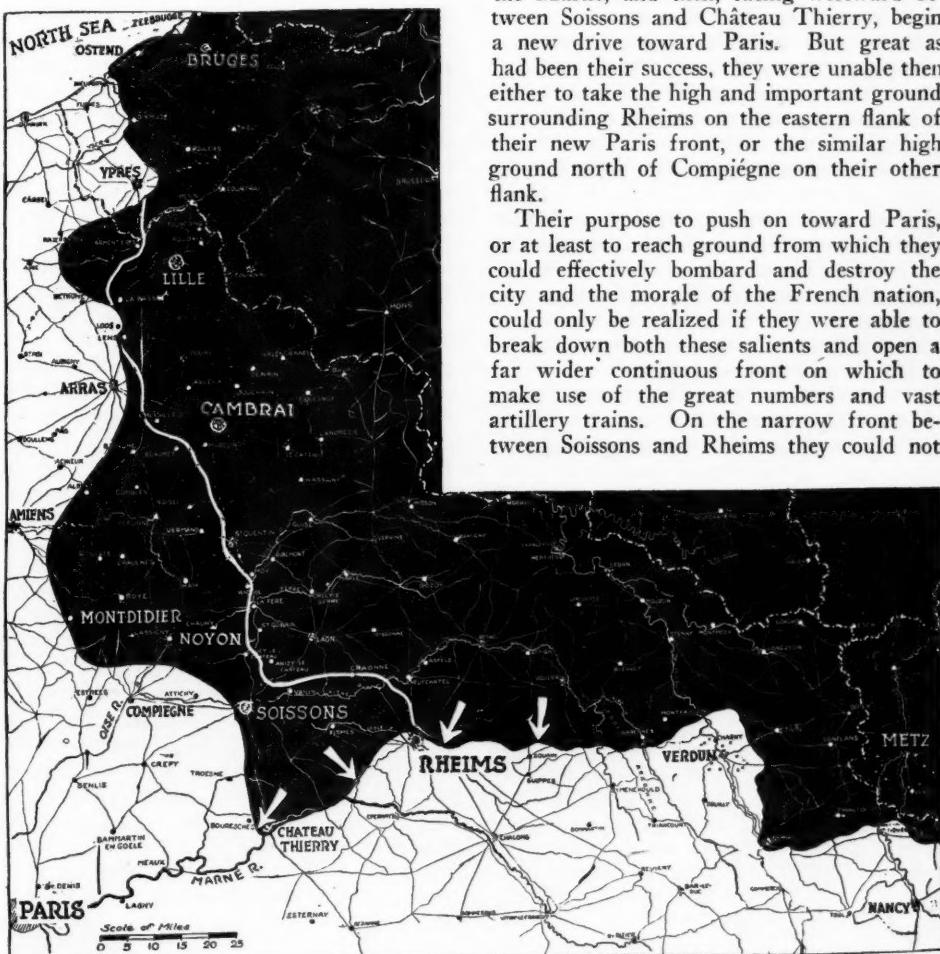
By Wednesday the German attacks east of Rheims had developed into a wholly local

thrust along the Vesle on the eastern side of the Rheims salient and south of the city, from Sillery to Beaumont, with the obvious purpose of exerting as much pressure as possible on the east side of the salient, while the troops on the west side, astride the Marne, pressed forward. And at this moment Rheims was manifestly becoming seriously menaced.

## II. THE VALUE OF RHEIMS

The value of Rheims in the German strategy was always plain. The collapse of the French resistance along the Aisne in May had enabled the Germans to push forward to the Marne, and then, facing westward between Soissons and Château Thierry, begin a new drive toward Paris. But great as had been their success, they were unable then either to take the high and important ground surrounding Rheims on the eastern flank of their new Paris front, or the similar high ground north of Compiègne on their other flank.

Their purpose to push on toward Paris, or at least to reach ground from which they could effectively bombard and destroy the city and the morale of the French nation, could only be realized if they were able to break down both these salients and open a far wider continuous front on which to make use of the great numbers and vast artillery trains. On the narrow front between Soissons and Rheims they could not



THE BATTLE LINE IN BELGIUM AND FRANCE AFTER FOUR YEARS OF WAR

(The arrows indicate the direction of the fifth German offensive, which began on July 15 and ended so suddenly. The white line marks the ground gained in the four previous offensives, since March 21, which have created several "salients" in the German line. The western half of the salient from Soissons to Rheims is the scene of the counter-blow by French and American troops beginning on July 18)

use great numbers advantageously, and the Allies, even with materially fewer troops, could hold up a superior number.

It was plain that the next German move, after the victory which gave them the north bank of the Marne between Château Thierry and Dormans, would be either an attack upon the Compiègne salient or the Rheims salient, as long as either was in French hands. Moreover, it was possible for Foch to deliver a counter-thrust on the flank and at the rear of the troops operating between the Aisne and the Marne, as was disclosed a little later in the operation which is still proceeding. Accordingly, in the first days of June the Germans began their drive for Compiègne, which was so quickly halted, without any realization of German purpose.

Ludendorff had hoped by the Compiègne thrust to clear the French out of all the high ground between the Aisne and the Oise at their confluence and thus prepare the way for an advance down the Oise Valley astride the river and across the level plains to the Marne River, the very plains which saw Kluck's great effort and failure in the Battle of the Ourcq, which was, in itself, the first phase of the Battle of the Marne, in September, 1914. He failed to accomplish this result, although he gained some valuable ground.

It remained patent, however, that, having failed at Compiègne, he must now tackle the Rheims problem, because, while Rheims remained in French hands, Foch could launch a counter-thrust, which, if only moderately successful, would compel the Germans to retreat out of their narrow operative front between the Marne and the Aisne, their Paris front, and if immediately and greatly successful might bring a real disaster, since only a small advance northward and westward would carry the French across the roadways and railways vital to the maintenance of the line between Soissons and Château Thierry.

The French were not, therefore, in any degree surprised by the blow of July 15. They expected it, they were prepared for it, they had even fixed the hour of the assault and met the German storm of artillery fire with a counter-fire which inflicted huge losses. The element of surprise, which had played so great a part in the earlier attacks, was absent. The German bombardment of the rear areas, stretching this time to Meaux, within twenty miles of Paris, did not have the usual effect. German "mustard gas," so important a factor in past attacks, did not

bring the customary paralysis and confusion in the supports. In a word, the Germans found themselves in the face of an enemy as ready as they had been in the days of the Somme in 1916 or in Flanders last year.

The result was failure on most of the front originally attacked. Yet by the second day the Marne had been passed, the road to Epernay, if not opened, had been partially forced, and the great operation, which at the outset seemed likely to rival the Battle of Picardy in the extent of front involved, had degenerated into a local operation on either bank of the Marne on a front of less than twenty miles designed to cut straight across the base of the Rheims salient and thus abolish a menace to the German flank and rear, which, so long as it held, would mean a practical barrier to any subsequent advance upon Paris. Ludendorff had not got Compiègne. He must, therefore, more certainly get Rheims, and he might hope, by later successful advances south of the Marne, and toward the Seine, to widen his future operative front toward Paris, for his goal remained Paris and the attack upon the Rheims salient was no more than the removal of a rock in his road.

By Wednesday, the 17th, we had, then, a real crisis. The Germans were within eight miles of Epernay, astride the Marne, advancing and already touching the western edge of the Mountain of Rheims, south of the city and the real military element in the Rheims position, for the city itself is but an empty ruin, indefensible and a mere heap of ashes in front of the really considerable heights rising in a semi-circle north of the Marne and constituting a landmark visible for many miles in all directions. Simultaneously the Germans pushed across the Vesle and temporarily gained ground on the other side of the salient.

It was now clear that the French would have to counter-attack promptly, either from Epernay and south of the Marne or on the flank of the Germans between the Marne and the Aisne, between Château Thierry and Soissons. Otherwise they would have to abandon the Rheims salient and fall back south of the Marne, surrendering the position which, in their hands, was so considerable an obstacle to any later German thrust toward Paris. All along the western face of the Rheims salient the storm was beating, the Italians in the immediate environs of the city from Bligny to Pourcy to the southwest were being pushed back, at least temporarily;

further south the Germans touched and entered Courton woods on the west side of the Mountain of Rheims, while along the Marne they took Montvoison, less than eight miles from Epernay.

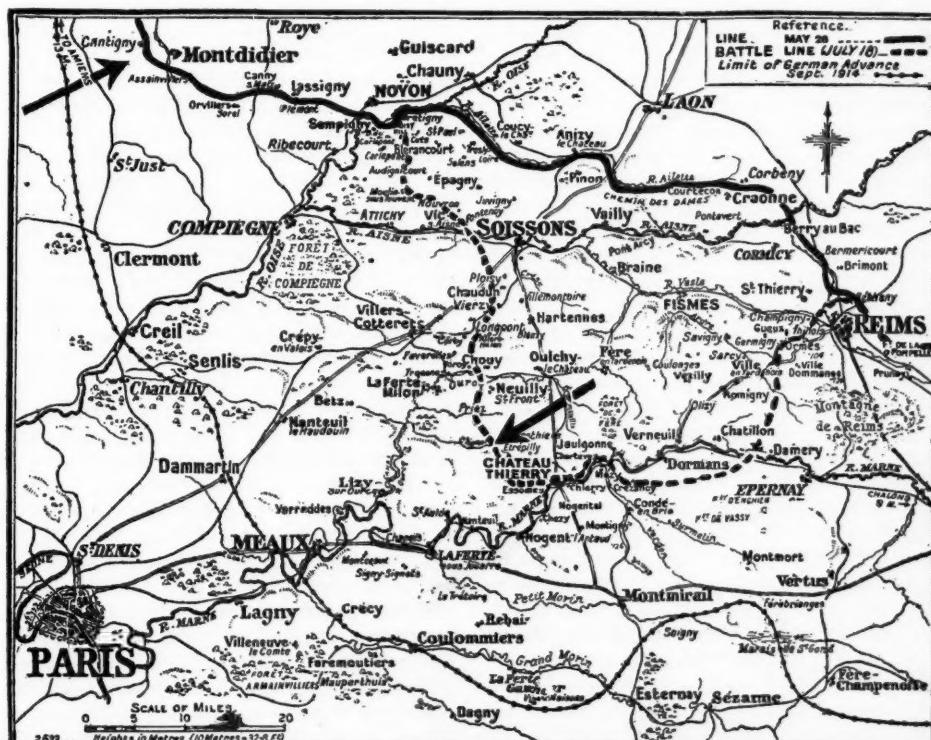
By Wednesday night, then, it was touch and go, as far as Rheims was concerned. There was no prospect of French disaster. The French line would be shortened and improved by retirement behind the Marne about Epernay, but the Germans would have Rheims, the Mountain of Rheims, and a much safer road toward Paris, if they could continue their gains for another twenty-four hours. But, on the other hand, all along the line they had failed to make any such gains as had been achieved in Picardy, in Flanders, or on the Aisne. The French first line had everywhere held and preserved the general continuity of the line, although it had been bent back in various places.

The general success of the resistance, the meagre German gains, the terrible German losses produced a general expression of optimism and of relief, as it was seen that only a local gain was now probable. Paris and London were manifestly confident and the

general public already speaking of German defeat, but military men now saw clearly that, although as a general offensive the German operation was hourly becoming a more and more obvious failure, as a local thrust for Rheims it was now dangerously near to success.

### III. THE COUNTER-BLOW

But the moment for which Foch had waited was now come. His first-line units had held on and there was no longer danger of a disaster anywhere. His reserves were available for a counter-offensive now and not, as in past German drives of the present year, committed to a desperate effort to repair a dangerous break. The German troops were wearied by their exertions, discouraged by the smallness of their success, and German reserves were being rapidly engaged, while his own were still in hand, fresh and ready. It was a far more favorable situation than that in which he had four years before launched his memorable blow at La Fère Champenoise, which decided the issue of the Battle of the Marne, but it recalled that



THE REGION OF THE SEVEREST FIGHTING BETWEEN THE GERMANS AND THE AMERICANS AND FRENCH IN JULY

memorable time. Actually the Foch counter-thrust exactly paralleled the blow struck by Joffre upon the German flank toward Paris on September 5, 1914, which opened the Battle of the Marne and was the first step in the series which led to that supreme victory.

The counter-thrust led by General Mangin, the deliverer of Verdun in 1916, was delivered on the extended flank of the Germans between the Aisne and the Marne. It would have been impossible if Ludendorff had been able in May to take Compiègne and straighten out his line. It revealed instantly the weakness of the German situation on their "Paris front." On a front of some twenty-five miles, from the environs of Château Thierry to the Aisne, half a dozen miles west of Soissons, Foch launched fresh American and French troops, concealed in the tangle of woods about Villers-Cotterets and on the ground which had seen the gallant early fights of American marines. By noon the offensive was in full flood. American troops reported the capture of a dozen villages and by night the French were on the hills above Soissons, dominating the town and already beginning to threaten the roads by which the Germans fed and munitioned their troops in the rapidly narrowing salient, which now extended south of the Marne and in which very large German forces were now making their supreme effort to beat down French resistance and take Epernay.

In an odd fashion the whole situation had been reversed. On Wednesday the French in the Rheims salient had been in acute peril, peril growing out of a German advance across the base of the salient. Now the Germans in the salient between Rheims and Soissons were in something like the same peril, with the French and American troops advancing along the base and western side of this salient as the Germans had been striking across the base and western side of the Rheims salient. And already the German attacks had slowed down and the safety of Rheims was at least for the moment assured.

The news of Friday morning, July 19, was even more favorable. By this time French cavalry was across the Soissons-Château Thierry highway, the most important road for the troops south of the Marne and in the angle about Château Thierry. French artillery already swept the single railway line available for the Germans to serve all their troops in the whole salient of which the line between Soissons and Rheims is the base.

At this moment the new problem was very clearly set. It had now become a clear question whether the Germans could rush up reserves in time to halt and throw back the Franco-American counter-offensive or failing this would have to retire not merely out of all the positions which they had gained south of the Marne, but out of all the territory conquered in the May Battle of Aisne south of the Vesle River. Even if they were able to check the Foch thrust, their position for the later drive against Paris had materially worsened; for between Château Thierry and Soissons they had lost some twenty villages and important ground to a depth of more than six miles in places. Many guns and thousands of prisoners had already been captured by the French and the Americans and there was at least a plain possibility that the Germans might be involved in a considerable disaster, if the Allied push went forward unchecked for the critical day, Friday, July 19.

Coincident with their announcement of the success of the counter-offensive, the French reported the complete check of the German movement upon Epernay. The blow at the other flank had already paralyzed German operations on the west side of the Rheims salient, while a minor offensive east of Rheims had won back Prunay. Already the French could claim a real defensive victory on the whole front and were beginning to outline something approximating an offensive of major proportions and complete success on the Soissons-Château Thierry front. The German defeat already approximated the proportions of the Austrian defeat along the Piave. It still remained to be seen whether they would have to repeat their course in the Battle of the Marne and make a rapid retirement north of the Aisne to escape a serious disaster to the flank of their operative army.

Long before this article is in the reader's hands the crisis will have been passed and, therefore, all prophecy is naturally idle. But one thing is clear: The Germans had already failed to remove the Rheims obstacle to their later drive upon Paris. Not only this, but they had lost valuable ground on the front along which they must seek to advance toward Paris, if, indeed, they are to renew this larger effort. They are infinitely worse off than they were when they began their fifth considerable operation of the year; and it may be that they will have to retire out of all the territory south of the Vesle and between Soissons and Rheims.

Any such retirement will definitively end their designs upon Paris.

Favorable as had been the immediate effect of the Franco-American counter-thrust in bringing the German offensive to a halt, by Saturday, July 20, it was plain that the Germans in the whole salient which has the Vesle between Soissons and Rheims as its base line were going to have a desperate time. From the heights above Soissons the Allied artillery swept the main railroads and highways of communication which fed the Germans in the deep salient, now extended south of the Marne.

All the circumstances of the Marne campaign of 1914 were now repeated in what had become in extent and in importance, as well as in mere geographical circumstance, a Second Battle of the Marne. Four years before Joffre had thrown Maunoury upon the flank of all the German forces between Paris and Verdun, compelled a retirement beyond the Marne to save the imperiled flank, and an ultimate retreat behind the Aisne. By Sunday morning, July 21, the Germans had again repassed the Marne on their way north, and by Monday, July 22, when this article is closed, they had evacuated Château Thierry and at least half of their holdings north of the Marne, while the French and Americans were across the Château Thierry-Soissons highway and railroad, the main arteries of German supply, and had taken, under artillery fire, the other vital routes.

At this time it seemed inevitable that the Germans would be compelled to retire as far north as the Vesle and conceivably to the north bank of the Aisne, that is to the ground to which Klück had retired in September, 1914. More than 20,000 prisoners and 400 guns had been taken, a colossal offensive had been turned into a desperate race to escape ruin, and the "Paris front" of the German seemed in a fair way to be abolished. Northward about Soissons the German was fighting desperately and, for the moment, successfully to hold the town swept by artillery fire, but his purpose was not offensive but to hold open the gateway between Rheims and Soissons through which his defeated troops must retire, if they were to escape a complete disaster and an approximate Sedan. And there was still the possibility, slight but plain, that a real disaster, the capture of many more thousands of prisoners, might result from any further extension of the advance of the Franco-American

troops eastward along the Ourcq before the Germans had cleared out of the country to the south.

And here, at the moment when the extent of the victory remains in doubt but the certainty that a great victory has already been won cannot be questioned, we must leave the battle. Foch has not merely checked and broken the fifth German blow, in the fifth month of the general German offensive, but he is taking back the most important ground won by the Germans during their whole thrust. He has, temporarily at least, wrested the initiative from the enemy; he has achieved a moral triumph surpassing even the very great military success. He has put Paris out of danger and—unless there be some great and wholly improbable Allied disaster in the next few weeks—he has destroyed the German hope of a decision this year, which means forever.

I believe the Second Battle of the Marne will have consequences only a little less considerable than were those of the first, and that we are seeing at this moment the closing phase of one of the memorable battles of human history. It has come, as did Gettysburg in our own Civil War, after a long period of enemy success, and it has broken the power of the most dangerous enemy offensive since the opening phase of the war. It leaves the German armies to the north still free and able to make another great attack upon the British. It does not open the way to Berlin and it will not end the war, but it should end the German hope of winning.

And hour by hour it becomes clearer and clearer that in the decisive thrust America has played an important part. Our troops have come in time. They have restored the balance between the foes and enabled Foch to venture a counter-thrust which has had an incredible success and is still succeeding. The long period of waiting seems to be over, the crisis in this campaign seems to have been passed, and the fourth anniversary of the war should see the Allied situation at last restored to the condition existing before the collapse of Russia gave Ludendorff a chance to repeat the gamble of the younger Moltke at the Marne, with consequences which seem not to have been one degree less disastrous to his imperial master. For us the Second Battle of the Marne is also memorable as our greatest conflict, measured by the number of Americans participating. In no battle of the Civil War did the North and South engage so great a force.

#### IV. FOURTH OF JULY FACTS

To furnish the American people with a solid basis for the celebration of our national holiday, President Wilson permitted the announcement to be made that America's first million had crossed the seas. By that date the total of American soldiers in France was 1,019,000, and by the time this article is in the reader's hands the number will have increased by at least another quarter of a million. We shall, then, in sixteen months of participation in the war, have sent to France 1,250,000 men, of whom not less than two-thirds may be reckoned as fighting men. This means that on August 1 we shall have in France not less than 850,000 men, all of whom will, before the close of the present campaign, be available for some measure of active service and more than half capable of performing really effective service in meeting the German storm.

Now, unless all evidence which we have had so far is false, this number of men is sufficient to restore the balance between the armies of our Allies and the Germans. Were all of our 850,000 men available for service at the present moment, and completely trained for contemporary warfare, I am convinced that the Germans would be effectively outnumbered on the Western Front and that the period of actual danger would be over. More than this, it seems to me that when we have 500,000 men fully trained (and we already have at least 250,000) the margin of German advantage will be insignificant.

This is the real great American achievement of the war. It is an achievement beyond the expectation of our Allies, and far surpassing anything the Germans feared. By the fourth anniversary of the Battle of the Marne—that is, by the first week in September—we should have half a million men playing their part either in the active zones north and east of Paris, or holding quieter sectors in Lorraine and thus releasing French veterans for service at the danger point. And by the fourth anniversary of the Battle of the Marne, it seems to me that the German, if he has at that time been unable to get his decisive victory, will no longer be in a position to seek it with any real basis of expectation of getting it.

The question of numbers is always a puzzling one, and on no subject has there been so much confusion in recent months. To the people of this country the sudden appeal

of our Allies for men in March, accompanied by the frank confession that not only were the British and French outnumbered upon the Western Front, but decisively outnumbered, came as a distinct shock. Suddenly the real meaning of Russia's collapse was appreciated, but there remained the puzzle as to how the thing had come about, in the face of comparative populations and the reported numbers which France and Britain had enrolled.

The real trouble, I think has lain in the failure of the military writers to make clear the distinction between gross numbers and organized numbers. Thus, if the British have had on the average close to 2,000,000 men in France for at least two years, this fact has been accepted as meaning that the fighting strength, the organized fighting strength, of the British Army has been steadily 2,000,000, and the same assumption has been made in the case of the French.

Now the fact is this: The British have had in France an organized strength which has never been in excess of 1,000,000; that is, the number of men, organized in divisions, provided with all the officers and machinery of the divisional unit. The other million has been made up of a certain percentage of men engaged in the necessary but non-combatant tasks, of men held in depots to replace wastage (and the British loss last year was around 1,000,000) and of new levies undergoing final training before being incorporated in existing units.

Sixty British divisions, with an average strength of between 900,000 and 1,000,000, represent approximately the full field strength of the British Army in France. To keep it at this strength through a year of fighting requires another million. But the British could not and cannot inside of many months transform any part of their unorganized force into new divisions, because this requires special training of officers, the creation and coördination of intricate machinery and staffs. On the whole, save for such divisions as were stationed in Britain, in the colonies, or employed in "sideshows" but available for recall or transport to France, the fighting strength of the British Army for 1918 was not, and could not be, much above sixty divisions.

As for the French, their great losses compelled them early in the war to restrict the manufacture of new divisions. They had a fixed number of men available. They had a certain number of divisions and a fairly

regular rate of wastage through casualties. They could thus calculate how long at the existing rate of wastage they could maintain, say, eighty divisions of 15,000 each. If they created more divisions, their reserves to supply wastage would be used up more rapidly and they would presently have to reduce the number of divisions.

Accordingly, the French early decided to maintain their field or fighting army at a strength of some 1,250,000 men. Taken with the 900,000 British and some 100,000 Belgians and Portuguese, this gave the western Allies a fighting strength of 2,250,000. They had the reserves to keep this force going through the present campaign and to maintain it at full strength, but they had not the resources to increase it by creating new divisions within time which would enable them to make effective use of these new units.

These 2,250,000 represented an organized strength of 180 German divisions. The strength of the German division is about 12,500, while that of both the French and the British is materially larger; but, for purposes of establishing a comparison, I shall use the German divisional strength as the unit. On the Western Front, then, the Allies had some 180 divisions available in March of the present year. They had the reserves to maintain these divisions, but they could not increase them in number and their effective fighting force at any one time might be less, but would not be more than 2,250,000 men, organized in units equivalent to 180 German divisions.

## V. THE GERMAN NUMBERS

Now what did the Germans have on their side to face these 180 Allied divisions? They had, or they were destined to have, not less than 225 divisions, when they should complete the process of transferring troops from Russia to the West Front. In other words, they had an advantage immediate or prospective of forty-five divisions when Ludendorff began his great offensive in March. They had in addition the advantages of a unified command, a homogeneous army and a central position enabling them to throw their superior numbers at any point in a wide semi-circle between Verdun and Lille, from the inside of the circle. These forty-five divisions represented an actual or ultimate numerical superiority of approximately 560,000. Moreover, by combing through their population and by calling up both the old

and the young, they might hope to keep this number of divisions at full strength for the present campaign.

Our Allies did not perceive the situation in advance. They underestimated the force of the German blow and the possibilities of the German numbers. The consequence was that, after the initial defeat in Picardy, they found themselves facing a situation in which there was no possible source of relief, outside of the United States. We were raising a new army and creating new divisions. These divisions, once trained and transported to Europe, would redress the balance, but unless the pace of shipping were accelerated, they would not come in time. Hence the almost frantic appeal of last March.

Now what has been our answer? We had around 250,000 troops, organized in fighting units in France when the appeal was made—a total of twenty divisions, measuring by the German divisional yardstick. Our own divisional strength is something quite different. But even with this 250,000, or twenty divisions, our Allies would still count but 200 divisions against 225 for the Germans, 206 of which had already appeared on the Western Front by April. Unity of command had already come. Homogeneity of troops was unattainable, since there were bound to be men of various nations engaged on the Allied side. It remained to get the equality of numbers.

Now, on July 4, we had 700,000 fighting men in France plus 300,000 employed in necessary but non-combatant tasks. To-day we have 850,000 fighting men. All of this number are organized into divisional units and have been trained as such in this country, but by no means all of them are yet fit to be put into the firing-line. In a word, by August 1, we shall have sent to France the strength of sixty-eight German divisions, bringing the total of Allied divisional strength up to 244, against 225 for the Germans; but not all of our divisions are available, nor will be available before September, when they will have completed their final stage of training in France. And even then a certain number will be available only on quieter sectors.

But we have at the present moment at least the strength of forty German divisions; that is, 500,000 either fighting in the first line and in front of the German drive or holding sectors in Lorraine or brigaded with British and French units as a preliminary to being returned to their old organizations,

and these forty divisions give our Allies at least 220 divisions against a possible 225 for the Germans, only 206 of which have so far been reported upon the Western Front. We have, then, to all practical purposes restored the balance. Instead of 180 divisions, always employing the German divisional yardstick, our Allies have 220, while the German has not yet reached the same mark and can hardly exceed it much.

But in addition to forty divisions already in, we have the strength of twenty-eight more in Europe to-day. All of these will be able to do something by October and then our Allies will have 248 divisions against 225—a decisive advantage. And some of these divisions will be available before October. In any event we shall have by September not less than five more divisions available, even if only available when used brigaded with British and French units, and the Allied strength will then equal the Germans. Ludendorff will then have lost the advantage he had when the Allied high command was not united. He will no longer have a superiority in numbers. He will still have only such slight advantage as comes from homogeneity of nationality within his army and against that will be set the advantage possessed by the Americans in material, since our men are young and fresh, the finest material left in war-cursed Europe.

In sum, then, by August 1 we shall have restored the balance, met the appeal of our Allies, and thereafter, slowly but surely, our divisions, already there, will become available, until at the end of the campaign the Allies, with our troops, will have 248 divisions, against 225 German—an excess of twenty-three as compared with the inferiority of twenty-five, which confronted them in March.

Looking to next year, there is no reason why we cannot increase our field force to 1,500,000 by next spring, giving us an organized strength equivalent to 120 German divisions and making the total available strength of the Allies for next year 300 divisions, against 225 for the Germans, for I do not believe the Germans can possibly increase the number of their divisions next year and they may, if their losses this year continue to be enormous, or the eastern situation becomes threatening, have to reduce the number.

In a word, thanks to our rapid transport of men to Europe, Foch now has a divisional

strength equal to that of Ludendorff. Thanks to the same cause he will have an advantage and a real advantage before the campaign ends, and thereafter, so long as the war lasts, unless Britain or France makes a separate peace, he will have a decisive superiority. The German has failed to get his decision while he had the advantage of numbers. He must get it now when the numbers are substantially equal, but there remains to him a slight advantage in the number of highly trained troops.

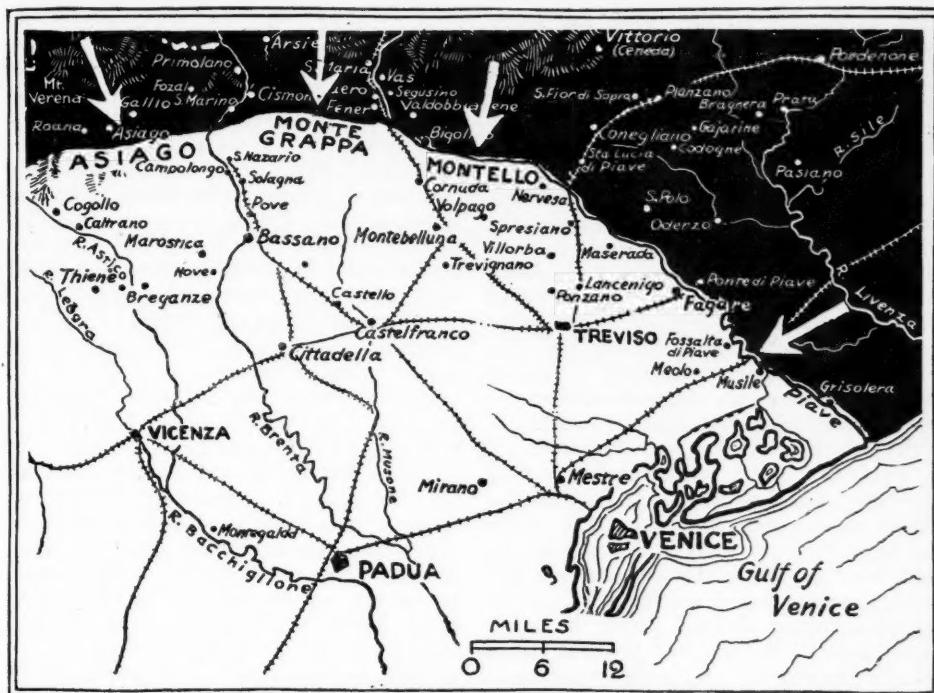
At the very latest he must get that decision before the end of September and it will be a dubious outlook for him if he has not opened the way to that success by the fourth anniversary of the Marne. This is the old story of the Somme and Verdun over again. At Verdun the French held until the new British armies could be organized and get ready to participate at the Somme. France and Britain are playing the French rôle, this time and we are playing the British rôle. We are getting up, too, and the German has still failed to get the victory, just as he failed at Verdun.

This is, I think an approximately accurate explanation of the question of numbers. The collapse of Russia explains the immediate superiority of the Germans. The Allies could not or did not prepare for such a situation. When it came they were without other resource than to appeal to us. Had we failed the result might have been, probably would have been fatal. The danger is not yet quite over, but it is passing rapidly.

## VI. THE END OF THE BATTLE OF THE PIAVE

When I closed my last article the Austrian offensive at the Piave had already been checked and it was clear that unless there were some new and marked success it had proven a failure. A change there was, but it was a change wholly favorable to the Italians. The result was the first clear Allied victory of the campaign of 1918 and the greatest military success in the history of modern Italy.

The story of the last phase of the Battle of the Piave is briefly told. The Italian front was divided geographically into three sectors corresponding with the left, center, and right wing of an army. The left rested upon the last spurs of the Alps, with its rear five miles from the Venetian Plain. Asiago Plateau and the Monte Grappa tangle of



THE AUSTRIAN OFFENSIVE IN ITALY  
(The arrows indicate the chief points of attack)

highlands were the conspicuous landmarks on this flank. The right ran from the sea northward behind the Piave to the point where the high ground begins. The center rested upon this high ground, the now famous Montello Heights, west of the Piave, and the key of the whole Italian position.

The Austrian attack upon the Italian left along the mountains did not amount to much. The assault delivered upon the right from the sea to the Montello Heights was by contrast severe and gave the Austrians material gains in the tangle of streams in the Piave delta, where they were nearest Venice and northward where the main highways and railway cross the river going toward Treviso. But the main thrust was aimed at Montello. Had they been able to take this high ground, the Austrians would have pierced the Italian center, threatened the rear of the Italian left along the mountains and of the right between Montello and the sea.

In their first attacks the Austrians made substantial progress on Montello Heights and there was certainly a period when they occupied the summit and it was touch and go whether the Italians could stand or would

have to retire upon the Brenta and thence behind the Adige, abandoning most of the remainder of Venetia and surrendering Venetia to the invader.

But in this situation Italian morale showed itself completely restored. The counter-attacks were prompt and presently successful. The Austrians were pushed off the summit of Montello and then down the eastern slope, while their advance west of the Piave between Montello and the sea was checked. This was the situation when I closed my last article. The situation had already almost reached a deadlock and the lines were stabilizing themselves with the Austrians in possession of a portion of Montello and many bridgeheads west of the Piave, good jumping-off places for a new attack, but indecisive gains, so far as forcing the Italians out of the Piave front was concerned.

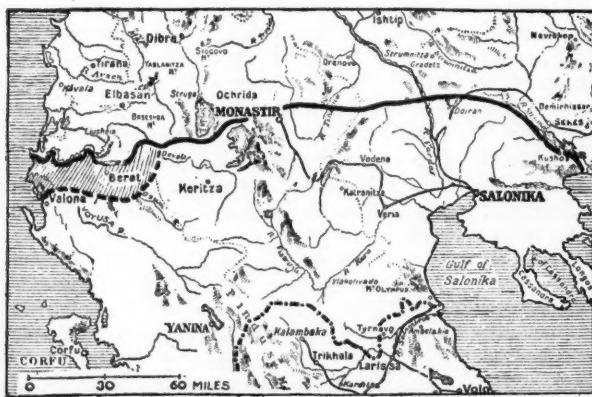
At this point there was a heavy rain in the mountains. The Piave rose suddenly and swept away many of the Austrian bridges across the river, particularly behind Montello. The Italians again counter-attacked and the Austrians were eventually compelled, having lost many prisoners and

guns, to abandon all their gains and retire behind the Piave. Their offensive had been broken. The Italian line was restored to its situation before the offensive. The Austrian Hunger Offensive was a failure—a costly, decisive failure.

There remained the question as to whether the Italians could transform a successful defensive into a sweeping offensive victory. But they did not attempt it. On the contrary, having taken such toll as they could easily and immediately, they sat down behind the Piave and made such further efforts as they chose to venture on their left in the mountains, extending and improving their positions on this dangerous front, the scene of such desperate fighting in May of 1916 and again last year after Caporetto.

The moral effect of the Italian victory was great and immediate. It gave all the Allied capitals the happiest moment of the whole gloomy year. It laid many doubts and fears as to the Italian situation and raised many new and considerable hopes as to the future in Austria, where the defeat added patently to the unrest and disaffection of the weary and suffering populations. Berlin boomed forth with denunciations of Austrian failure. The Austrian commander-in-chief, Conrad von Hoetzendorf, was retired in disgrace. Vienna confessed a defeat, which it laid quite unjustly to the Piave floods, since the advance had been checked by Italian arms before the floods came.

Thereafter for the moment the Italian field ceased to be active. The Austrian failure was unmistakable, but the Italians declined the offensive. Like Foch, Diaz continued to wait, but with his foe checked at the exact point where the campaign opened.



THE ALBANIAN FRONT, SHOWING RECENT ALLIED GAINS

## VII. IN ALBANIA

While they retained the defensive posture in Venetia, the Italians subsequently supported by the French to the eastward, presently broke out into an interesting offensive in Albania. On a front between the Adriatic and those mountains which make the backbone of the Balkan peninsula, the Allies pushed northward for many miles, clearing all the region of Southern Albania, south of the Skumbi River, once fixed as the dividing line between Serbia and Greece in the partition of Albania arranged in the days of the First Balkan War.

This operation was not immediately important. It was plain that if Elbasan fell, as Berat had fallen, and the Allies were able to clear the north end of the Lake of Ochrida, then the position of the Bulgarians in the region north of Monastir would be difficult and the Salonica forces, coöoperating with the Italians and French, might be able to make a considerable forward march west of the Vardar and in the direction of Serbia. The Bulgarian west flank would be imperilled and a material retirement might be made necessary.

It was equally clear that any northward movement would have a certain measure of influence in exciting the hopes and therefore the unrest of the Southern Slavs in Austria and Hungary. But the prospect of a sudden forward sweep into Austria by the Adriatic coast was purely visionary, given the distances and the military obstacles. The road to the Danube from the south is up the Vardar Valley and in this region the Bulgarian armies still held firmly to their dominating positions.

What the political effect upon Bulgaria, as well as upon Austria-Hungary, of this interesting operation might be remained problematical, although it coincided with an acute crisis in Bulgaria, which led to a change in Prime Ministers. But in July the operation did not go beyond a brilliant sweeping of relatively small and plainly demoralized Austrian troops out of the region south of the Skumbi and the development of a possible future threat to the Bulgarians east of Lake Ochrida and north of Monastir.

# THE BRITISH ARMY AND UNITY OF COMMAND

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR FREDERICK B. MAURICE

(Formerly Director of Military Operations on the British General Staff)

[We are glad to present herewith a statement which General Maurice has written for this periodical in order to make plain to American readers his full support of the plan of a united command under Foch as generalissimo. Appended will be found the full interview given by General Maurice to the newspaper correspondents at the English war office on April 17, in which occurred his much quoted reference to Waterloo and Blücher. It now becomes clear that the English general's intention was to praise rather than to criticize the French commander-in-chief. Our own allusions in June were based upon a misunderstanding that was prevalent in the American press, due to the fact that only a part of the statement had been cabled.—THE EDITOR.]

**O**WING to the way in which the news was presented, the American press has generally assumed that a letter which I sent to the British newspapers, challenging certain statements made by members of our Government, regarding the war, was in effect an attack upon General Foch, and that in this matter I was the representative and mouthpiece of the British regular officers who were opposed to unity of command. Even such an exceptionally able and well-informed writer on the war as Mr. Frank H. Simonds has in the June number of the AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS fallen into this error. My personal share in the incident can be of little interest to American readers, and I should not attempt an explanation were it not that British and American soldiers are now fighting shoulder to shoulder in France, and it is, therefore, a matter of real importance that misunderstandings as to the views held by the British Army on this vital question should be corrected.

While I was at the War Office it was amongst my duties to have weekly conferences on the military situation with representatives of the press. One of the last of such meetings which I attended took place when the first German offensive of this year's campaign was at its height, and very shortly after General Foch had been appointed to the supreme control of the Allied armies on the Western Front. At that time the brunt of the German attack had been borne by the British Army as was natural seeing that it had been made against the British Front, and, as a consequence of our reverses, there was great anxiety in England which led to

many inquiries as to why our troops had been left to meet unsupported the very superior forces which the Germans were bringing up against them.

Now I knew that General Foch was moving up French reserves to our assistance, and having met him at his headquarters a few days before the meeting in question and discussed with him the military situation, I was aware that his object was to employ no more of his reserves than was absolutely necessary to stem the German onrush, in order that he might be able to keep in his own hands as large a force as possible with which to meet the future and then unforeseeable contingencies. General Foch was in fact acting in accordance with the doctrine of economy of force, which he expounded when he was chief of the French Staff College, and developed in a number of admirable and trenchant military treatises which had greatly impressed military students in Great Britain before the war.

#### A MISUNDERSTOOD REMARK ABOUT BLÜCHER

My object at the meeting of the press representatives was to explain that, though the British Army was having a very hard time, this, however unpleasant it might be for us as a nation, was in the general interest, and that so long as Foch had reserves to bring to the battlefield, as and when required, the final result was certain. To illustrate my argument I took as an analogy the Battle of Waterloo, which was won because the British Army under Wellington stood a long day's pounding and was able to hold out until Blücher arrived. I said, therefore, that the British Army was again playing a part

which it had played before in history, and that we should look upon the battle then raging as a Waterloo multiplied a hundred-fold in time and space. Finally I added that the question to keep in mind was, "Where is Blücher?" and that we need have no anxiety so long as Blücher was marching to the battlefield.

The whole purport of this statement was to support General Foch and to express my cordial agreement with his strategy. It was so understood at the time by the British press, in which the statement was published *in extenso*. Unfortunately, the report cabled to America was very much abbreviated and was understood in the American press in the exactly contrary sense. So it came about that when it was known in America that I had left the British War Office and had been the cause of a political crisis in Great Britain, it was assumed that I had been dismissed for gross want of tact in criticizing General Foch, and that my letter to the British newspapers was the outcome of an intrigue against unity of command.

I had not in fact been dismissed from the British War Office, for it had been arranged, two months before the so-called Blücher interview, that I should take up an important appointment in France, and the only reason I had not done so was because there had been some delay in setting free my successor, who was detained in France, first because of the threat of, and then because of the development of the great German offensive. The letter which I sent to the papers was concerned, not with the question of unity of command, but with the provision made by the British Government for keeping our forces in France up to strength. At the time when I wrote it, I was awaiting orders to proceed to France and I did not do so because the British Parliament decided not to hear my case and I was placed on retired pay because I had committed a breach of military discipline in writing to the papers. This was a risk I had foreseen and accepted, in taking the course I had felt it my duty to take, but I had hoped to obtain some investigation of the charges I had made and in this I failed.

#### INADEQUACY OF "COMMAND BY COMMITTEE"

There had been, it is true, opposition in the British Army to certain proposals for obtaining unity of command, but that opposition was due solely to the fact that the proposals in question were regarded by British

soldiers as unworkable and militarily ineffective. The Versailles Supreme War Council, at a session held in the beginning of February this year, vested the supreme control of the Allied forces on the Western Front in an executive board composed of representatives of the American, French, Italian, and British Armies, under the presidency of General Foch. This was in effect putting the higher command of the Allied operations in the hands of a committee, and it was a measure to which most thoughtful British officers were strenuously opposed. Command by committee has been repeatedly tried in war, and from the days of the Aulic Council onwards has invariably failed.

Committees are an excellent means of bringing together and reconciling conflicting views, but in a higher command there should be but one will and no conflict of opinion; for if command in war is to be effective it is necessary that decisions should be prompt, and that one policy should be pursued with singleness of purpose and with all possible energy. When a committee meets discussion and delay are inevitable; it ends generally in each member of the committee retaining his original opinion, and the final result is usually a compromise, in which the strongest will obtains most, but rarely all, of what he desires. Now compromise is fatal in war, because no one of those who have agreed to it can apply it with complete confidence in the result, each man feeling that if only his own proposal had been adopted complete victory would be certain. It is one of Napoleon's maxims of war that a bad plan carried through with resolution is better than the best plan carried through without confidence and determination.

#### GENERAL FOCH'S APPOINTMENT WELCOMED

Events have justified the distrust of British soldiers in command by committee, for the Versailles Executive Board broke down in face of the German menace and has not been heard of since. On the other hand, as has been announced by Mr. Lloyd George in the British Parliament, General Foch's appointment as Generalissimo, which was made when the crisis was at its height, was welcomed by both Sir Douglas Haig and by all his army commanders. For myself I may say that I have had the honor of being very closely associated with General Foch throughout the greater part of the war, and that long before the war I had conceived a very great admiration for him as an exponent

of the principles of modern strategy. I have not only the greatest respect and esteem for him as a general, but my personal relations with him have always been more than cordial. It is therefore a curious irony of fate that has led to my being regarded in America as an opponent of the great French general. From the time when the collapse of Russia made it clear that we should be threatened on the West by such an effort as Germany had not hitherto made in the war, I was convinced that unity of command was essential to the safety of the Allied cause, and that all the political and military difficulties which stood in the way of its realization were as nothing to the danger which confronted us, if we met the enemy's onslaught without one supreme military direction on the Western Front.

When the British Army first went to France its numbers were so small that it fitted naturally into its place in the French machine, and Joffre was *de facto*, if not in name, Generalissimo. Until the end of 1915 our troops fought both in attack and in defense in accordance with Joffre's plans, and usually in direct coöperation with French troops. On the Marne we assisted Manoury, the hero of the Ourcq, in turning back Von Kluck's hordes; we crossed the Aisne in conjunction again with Manoury on our left, and Franchet D'Esperey on our right; in the first battle of Ypres we were aiding Foch to block the roads to Calais, and at Festubert and Loos our attacks were from the first subordinate to and designed solely to help Foch's efforts against the Vimy Ridge.

It was not until 1916, when the new armies raised by Kitchener's genius took the field, that the British forces in France reached such a size as to make them in any way independent. It then became apparent that there were difficulties in the way of the commander-in-chief of one great army, occupied fully with the control and administration of his own men, superintending at the same time the operations of a large allied force. From then on it became a question of loyal and whole-hearted coöperation between two co-equal and independent commanders-in-chief.

So long as the Allies in the West had the initiative, could choose their own time and place of attack, and force the enemy to fight at their will, this arrangement worked on the whole fairly well, though there were weaknesses in the coöordination of effort which were apparent to all keen observers. These weaknesses were not, however, such as to override the political difficulties which stood in the way of unity of command. America will appreciate that in a democratic country there were many shakings of heads over the constitutional difficulty of placing British troops under the orders of an allied general who could not be made responsible to Parliament and people.

#### BRITISH OFFICERS IN ACCORD

When, however, in the autumn of 1917, the German forces began to gather in the West it became evident to all British soldiers who had carefully considered the question, that a Generalissimo in some form or other was indispensable, and that this Generalissimo could not be the commander-in-chief of one of the armies already on the front, but must be independent of and superior to all the commanders in the field. For it was clear that the enemy would threaten attack upon more than one part of the front and upon more than one army, and that it would be the duty of each commander-in-chief to look especially to the interests of his own forces and to defend tenaciously his own front, when it might be, that, for the good of the Allied cause as a whole, he ought to sacrifice both troops and ground, either to allow of the protection of some more vital point, to release forces for a counter-offensive.

It was because they held these views that British soldiers welcomed the appointment of Foch, the immense difficulties and responsibilities of whose task no one appreciates more fully than they do. It is not from the professional British officers who have studied war that opposition will come to practical and effective unity of command. Their one regret is that the attempt to set up unpractical and ineffective machinery made it necessary to appoint Foch in the stress of battle instead of in the quiet days of preparation.

# THE FAMOUS "BLÜCHER" STATEMENT

## OFFICIAL REPORT OF GENERAL MAURICE'S WORDS

17TH APRIL, 1918.

The D. M. O. received the British and Allied press representatives to-day.

General Maurice said:

"The situation as viewed at General Headquarters, France, at mid-day yesterday was undoubtedly a very anxious one. The Germans had taken Bailleul; they had entered Meteren; they had entered Wytschaete; they had shown a determined attack by four fresh divisions with, of course, parts of other divisions as well on either side of Bailleul. If the enemy could have maintained that pressure and could have continued to bring up fresh troops at that rate there looked to be great danger to the vital ridge of heights which begins in the east at Kemmel and ends in the west at Wytschaete. That ridge of heights is the backbone of our defense on the northern portion of the battlefield.

"The news last night and to-day is decidedly better. We have counter-attacked at Meteren and to the south of it, and have driven the Germans back on quite a wide front—half way to Bailleul. We have advanced our line in the direction of Neuve Eglise and have improved it there with very little opposition, and while I am not able to say definitely that Wytschaete is entirely in our hands, certainly a great part of the village is in our hands, and we are probably to the eastern edge of it.

"That is the actual local situation on the front where the fighting is most severe.

"You will have observed in Sir Douglas Haig's mid-day communiqué to-day that he refers to a withdrawal on the Ypres front. The preparations for a shortening of the front on the Ypres salient were made some time ago in complete detail as an emergency which might be necessary. The decision to carry it out was come to on Sunday—that is to say, before the fall of Bailleul or the attack on Wytschaete, therefore it is not a hasty arrangement which has suddenly been arrived at owing to the course of events.

"Taking the position generally, our army, as is quite obvious, is going through a very severe strain, and the strain is not confined to the army; it is being felt here in England. The situation has had its very critical moments and is still decidedly anxious, but you must remember that we have planned for a united front. We have placed the forces on the western front under the supreme control of one General. Those were, of course, the most wise and proper decisions, but you have to accept the consequences and you have to look at this enormous battle not from the point of view of our losses, our sufferings, and our sacrifices, but from the point of view of the Entente as a whole.

"The British Army is playing the rôle which it has played often before in history; it is fighting Waterloo; it is being hammered by the main masses of the enemy while Blücher is marching to the battlefield. If you multiply Waterloo a hun-

dred times I have very little doubt that the feelings in England—if there had been the same means of communication with the battlefield as at present—would not have been dissimilar to ours to-day. But provided we are standing the hammering without breaking, and provided Blücher is marching to the battlefield, there is no reason to despair—in fact, very much the other way. You see the list of casualties and you read the reports of the tremendous fighting that is taking place and the splendid achievements of our men, but I do not think even with that you are quite able to picture the enormous task the British Army has performed and is performing. I have a few figures here which I think perhaps will make that clear.

"In this battle of Armentières the Germans have so far engaged twenty-eight divisions, and since March 21st on the whole of this enormous battlefield they have engaged 126 divisions. Of those 126 divisions the British Army has engaged alone 79, the French Army has engaged alone—that is to say, without any immediate British assistance—24, and 23 divisions have been engaged by both the French and the British.

"Therefore, looking at the thing from that point of view, you may say that the British had 102 fights with German divisions, the French have fought 47 German divisions. Of the divisions which have been engaged alone by the British—that is to say, 79—we have fought 28 of them twice and one of them three times; of the divisions which have been engaged by the French alone—that is to say, 24—the French have fought four twice; of the divisions which have been engaged both by the French and the British—that is to say, 23—we and the French have engaged 15 of those divisions twice and one three times. Therefore if you put the thing into figures, taking each time the German division has been engaged as a fight against the German division, realizing that there have been only 126 divisions engaged altogether, it comes to this: The British have had 138 fights with German divisions without any assistance from the French; the French have had 32 fights with German divisions without any assistance from the British, the actual total being that the British have had altogether 174 fights with German divisions, the French have had 68 fights with German divisions.

"That, I think, will illustrate what I meant to say. It is an unpleasant business standing the hammering, but if you look at the thing from the big point of view, as long as one can stand the hammering the thing to look for is what has become of Blücher? What is happening to the reserves? Those figures I have read to you will show that although the French Army is considerably larger than ours, we have practically taken the strain off them. Therefore if you will regard the situation from the broad point of view, and our sacrifices as a necessary part of the great plan, there is no reason whatever to be in a state of despair, for the Entente has still great reserves not engaged."



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**MAKING CITIZENS OF THREE HUNDRED FOREIGN-BORN FIGHTING MEN, NOW WEARING UNCLE SAM'S UNIFORM**  
(An impressive scene at Camp Upton, N. Y., where men of the selective army are admitted to full citizenship in order to protect them in their rights; the men are swearing allegiance)

## MAKING REAL AMERICANS OUT OF MANY RACES

BY H. H. WHEATON

(Chairman Executive Committee, National Committee of One Hundred)

"**T**HANK God, I—I also—am an American," exclaimed Daniel Webster, at the close of his great oration on the completion of the Bunker Hill Monument. America's greatest orator thus epitomized in one line all the devotion, all the patriotic spirit, all the comprehension that a native-born son can have for the liberty, the democracy, the institutions, the government, the ideals, the traditions, and the destiny of the peoples of the New World. In these words were the profoundest sentiment, the noblest inspiration, the finest feeling, which any man can express for his country.

For the American of native birth that sentiment is inborn. For the man of foreign birth it must largely be inculcated. While he may, on arrival, have an instinctive appreciation of some of the things America stands for, still to make the instinct thoroughly American, it must be cultivated through experience with and participation in those things constantly at work in the making of a newer and greater America. On the sands of the desert is the oasis, but the traveler must dig the well before he may quench his thirst. The traveler to

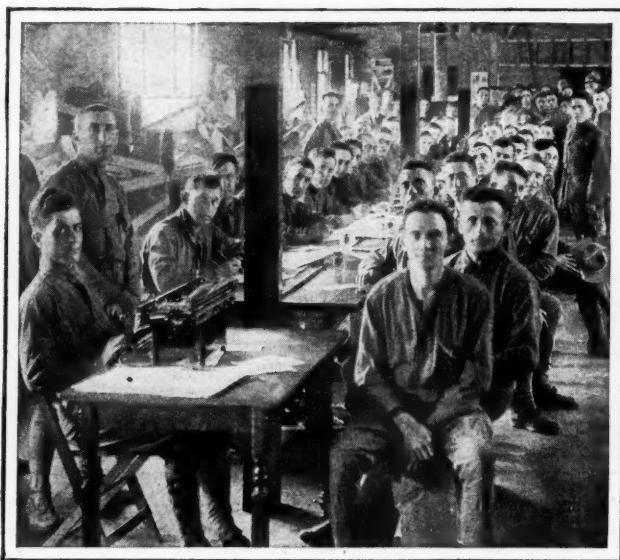
America—the immigrant's Promised Land—comes thirsting to taste of that wonderful thing we call democracy, to drink from the fountain of human happiness called Liberty.

How shall he find the fountain, and when found, from what cup shall he drink? By what process can he be inspired to exclaim, "Thank God, I—I also—am an American!"

### THE HUMAN STREAM AT ELLIS ISLAND

One day I stood at Ellis Island and watched a steamer pouring forth an unbroken stream of humanity. What a stream! In it were men through whose veins flowed the life-blood of the centuries, from whose throats came strange sounds, sounds older than the tower of Babel, sounds that have survived its ruins.

Came Magyars in that line, whose nomadic ancestors, sweeping westward with the sun, invaded Europe in the days of Charlemagne; Poles, from the land of Kosciusko and Pulaski, whose republican tendencies were the fear of Europe and whose desire to regain their national autonomy makes a powerful appeal to the civilized world; Italians, whose independence was secured



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AIDING FOREIGN-BORN SOLDIERS AT CAMP UPTON TO GAIN RECOGNITION AS FULL-FLEDGED AMERICANS

(The men are filling out applications for citizenship papers)

under the fiery leadership of Garibaldi; Greeks, whose love for liberty and democracy surviving through the centuries, threw off the yoke of Turkish despotism at last in the nineteenth century; Slavs, whose captive comrades tramped with bound feet through the snows of Siberia. Past the immigration inspectors walked Ruthenians, Frenchmen, Rumanians, Albanians, Macedonians, Bulgarians, Belgians, Serbians, Spaniards, Finns, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Ethiopians, and Orientals.

Thus did the Old World contribute to the New, pouring forth men of every race and clime. Until the beginning of the present war, a never-ending stream of human beings invaded our shores, speaking over a hundred languages and dialects, dressed in highly colored apparel, bringing strange customs, thinking different thoughts, following other ideals, believing old beliefs, maintaining ancient traditions, representing still older civilizations.

By what wonderful process could this mass of peoples be converted into a united nation maintaining the ideals and traditions of America—the New World?

The war has brought Americanization before the country in ways never dreamed of heretofore. Back of the fighting line in France must be at all times a united country.

National unity is the internal line of defense and is indispensable to success in the war. Americanization in its large sense is the process whereby national unity is to be achieved. It is the evolution of a people—the making of “one from many”—“E Pluribus Unum.”

Before the war we were as Americans sanguine about our capacity to assimilate one million immigrants a year. But the world's crisis trying the souls of men and testing the fabric of nations has shown us our deficiencies. The truth began to come home when it was found that 1,243,801 alien males were registered under the selective draft law and could claim exemption from military service. Yet we are fighting for the safety and preservation of the native countries from which many of these aliens came. It seems a curious irony that Americans—native born—could be compelled to fight in behalf of the very countries from which these aliens came, while under existing treaties we could not compel them to fight with us for the safety of their own native countries or of the country in which they now had elected to make their living.

#### DRAFTED ALIENS UNABLE TO SPEAK ENGLISH

It is to the credit of 123,277 aliens and declarants holding their naturalization papers that they did not set up a plea of exemption on the grounds of alienage, thus permitting themselves to be certified for military service in the first draft. But here is the striking thing—34 per cent. of the alien males of draft age, *i. e.*, from twenty-one to thirty years of age, inclusive, were in 1910 unable to speak the English language. It is fair to presume that the percentage was not substantially reduced from 1910 until the outbreak of the war, but if anything, actually increased on account of the immigration from non-English-speaking countries during that period. In other words, using this percentage as approximately correct, then at least 422,892 of the aliens registered under the selective draft were more or less unable to



Photo by Underwood &amp; Underwood, New York

## ENGLISH SCHOOL ASSEMBLED OUTSIDE THE FORD PLANT, DETROIT

(The teachers are volunteers. Since this school was started, two years ago, accidents have been reduced 54 per cent. and 129 interpreter foremen have been eliminated)

speak the common language of this country. We did not, however, realize this until the 34 per cent. of those certified for actual service got into the cantonments and training was attempted in English.

Imagine the incongruity of issuing military orders in a language not understood! The story is told that one ingenious training officer tied red bandanna handkerchiefs to the left arms of the men he was training so as to be able to indicate to them on which foot to start marching. Where was our boasted educational system that it had not taught every one of these men, particularly of draft age, at least to understand the English language? In one camp an officer was detailed to read some new rules and regulations to the various companies. He read them to one company, and after completion, the company's officer saluted and inquired whether the rules were printed in any foreign language, as not a man of his company had understood what had been read.

What would be the situation if all the aliens registered could be subjected to draft? Our camps would be "polyglot boarding-houses," and a large part of the time which should be devoted to military instruction would necessarily be given to English training before the real purpose for which the men

were drafted could be carried out. Let us suppose for a moment that the war in time really makes a vital demand upon us, and it becomes necessary to draft all men of military ages—eighteen to forty-five—would we not be overwhelmed to find there were over three million alien males of these ages? Consider the problem of teaching one-third of these men enough English to take military training!

## FOREIGN-BORN LABOR AND THE WAR

The war has shown us that any weakness in our industrial army is a menace to the internal line of defense. Back of the fighting line stand the industries which furnish and transport the munitions and materials of war. Without these America could not maintain an army in France. On this inability Germany counted for a factor in her success. Germany, through her psychological bureau, saw what we did not see—that the productive power of our industries was wielded by men of foreign birth, not by native-born Americans. Fortunately for us, she attempted without success to set up against us the eight million persons of foreign birth engaged in gainful occupations in this country.

Upon the iron and steel industry we are



AMERICANIZATION WORK CONDUCTED BY THE PRESSED STEEL CAR COMPANY OF PITTSBURGH AT PRESTON, PENNSYLVANIA

dependent for guns, shells, bullets, machinery, and other engines of war. But the reports of the United States Commission of Immigration show that 57 per cent. of the employees engaged in the iron and steel industries were of foreign birth. We are dependent upon coal to turn the wheels of these industries, yet 61 per cent. of the miners of soft coal were foreign-born. We must clothe our soldiers at the front, yet 72 per cent. of the operatives in the four largest clothing manufacturing centers were foreign-born. We are dependent upon our railroads to get all war materials to the shipping docks, yet 66½ per cent. of the construction and maintenance work on our transportation lines is done by the foreign-born laborer.

#### ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA

A third phase of Americanization disclosed by the war shocked us with surprise—the attitude of some of the Germans residing in this country. For years everyone of us had preached the doctrine that "the German is a good American citizen." We need not worry about Americanizing him, we asserted. But witness our amazement when a substantial number of Germans here took the part of Germany's government against the United States, and justified with typically German doctrine, and hence un-American philosophy, the efforts of the military autocracy to undermine our national unity and to interfere with our preparations for war. Insidious propaganda was for a long time successful because of our unwillingness to believe that anyone who had tasted the advantages of democracy and liberty under a

popular government could defend or actively work for the hell-hounds of militarism.

The real Americans of German origin have most effectively shamed those Germans, now much in the minority, for their unpatriotic acts in opposing America in the war. By participation in the purchase and sale of Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps, by their demonstration of loyalty in the recent Fourth of July parades, by their denunciation of the tyrannical malpractices of the Prussian military autoc-

racy, they have effectually given an answer to the "junkers" who brought on the war. They have asserted the principle that the ideals of America are the same as those which actuated the liberal movement in Germany in its struggle for a real German democracy, and that America must be supported in her fight for these ideals, if they are eventually to be realized in Germany itself.

#### NATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL ASPECTS OF AMERICANIZATION

In war or peace the unity of a people depends upon a community of language, ideals, and citizenship.

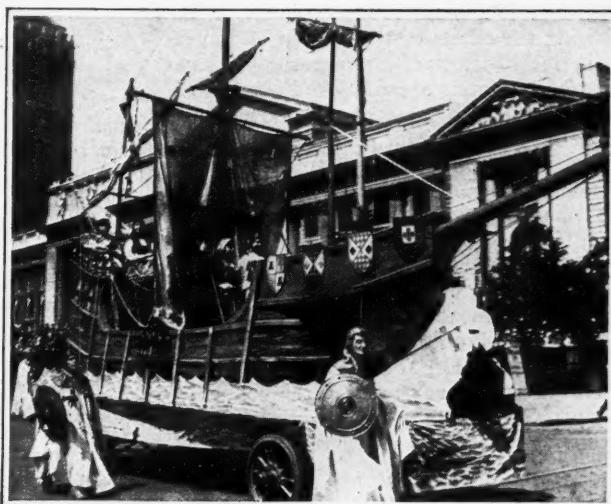
An analysis of immigration to this country shows that in recent years it has largely been non-English-speaking. In 1910, over three million were unable to use the language of the United States. Since that time over four million have arrived from non-English-speaking countries. Undoubtedly those now remaining more or less ignorant of English for practical purposes number five million.

One can readily picture the difficulties of the immigrant who does not speak English. He cannot converse with Americans, obtaining first-hand our points of view. He must get his information through the medium of an unreliable and frequently not disinterested interpreter. He must get his news through the foreign-language paper. Seeing American life and ways through foreign print and hearing about them from another's lips in a foreign tongue rarely gives a truthful impression.

In industry the non-English-speaking im-

migrant is a distinct liability. It has taken many years of agitation and publicity on the part of official and unofficial agencies to make industries realize this, but every progressive industrial man now admits its truth. Inability to speak English means more industrial accidents. Safety signs and plant regulations cannot be read, and orders are imperfectly understood. Even though instructions are given through interpreter foremen, there is danger of misunderstanding through misinterpretation. Immigrants laboring under this disability are more readily led by agitators of the bad school to strike, or to commit acts of sabotage to machinery. Whether intentional or unintentional, the immigrant laborer, ignorant of English, is at all times a potential source of danger to himself, his fellow-workmen and his plant.

The first efforts at Americanization were

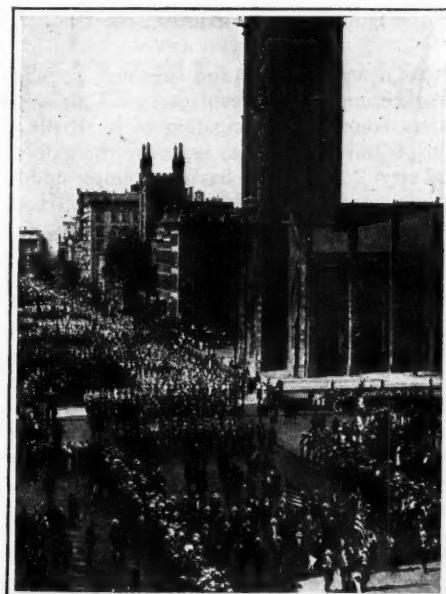


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PORTUGUESE REPRESENTED IN THE GREAT AMERICANIZATION PARADE  
ON JULY FOURTH IN NEW YORK CITY

largely those of local communities and unofficial agencies. In the spring of 1914, however, the Federal Government through the Bureau of Education, began an inquiry into the educational needs and conditions of immigrants. This investigation continued for almost two years, and a plan of procedure was evolved to deal with the subject on a nation-wide basis. This plan comprehended the organization of a clearing house of information, extension of facilities for educating immigrants, stimulation of their increased attendance at school, formulation of Federal standards and methods, promotion of factory classes and home education, and the mobilization of official and unofficial agencies of Americanization.

Through the creation of an Advisory Council on Americanization, appointed in September, 1916, by the Commissioner of Education, the plan was gradually given more definite shape and was adapted to a wider range of conditions. This council, known as the National Committee of One Hundred, not only acted as advisor to the Bureau of Education, but served as a medium for organizing other agencies upon the basis of a common national program. Members of the Council were selected to represent a wide variety of agencies dealing with Americanization in order to give these agencies an opportunity to help formulate and execute the federal plan.

On December 13, 1917, the Council of



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

PART OF THE NEW YORK CITY FOURTH OF JULY  
PARADE IN WHICH FORTY-TWO NATIONALITIES  
TOOK PART  
(Scene on Fifth Avenue)

National Defense passed a resolution endorsing the efforts of the Bureau of Education, looking toward the American education of the foreign-born. On February 12, 1918, these two arms of the Government united behind one joint plan of Americanization. The plan was an adaptation of the original program to war conditions, and called upon State and Community councils of defense to carry out the details in every section of the country, as a measure closely related to the winning of the war. From twenty-five to thirty State Councils have already acted on this appeal, have organized the necessary committees on Americanization, and are now working out the details. Several have appointed State Directors to organize and direct the activities.

#### SECRETARY LANE'S CONFERENCE

On April 3, 1918, the Secretary of the Interior called into conference with him all the Governors, chairmen of State Councils of Defense, and about three hundred high officials of industrial corporations and chambers of commerce. General consideration was given to the principal features of the problem in the light of the war. The conference approved federal aid to the States for the education of the foreign-born, cooperation by industrial plants on a national scale, and elementary school instruction in the English language only.

#### NEEDED FEDERAL LEGISLATION

Those in attendance at the Americanization Conference felt the need of thorough-going federal legislation, and a resolution adopted urged upon the Congress the desirability of adequate appropriations to governmental departments dealing with the respective aspects of Americanization. These sentiments have since been crystallized in a bill to appropriate several million dollars as aid to the States and local communities for carrying on the education of immigrants. The theory back of this bill is that inasmuch as the Federal Government admits the immigrant into the country, and admits him to citizenship, therefore must it interest itself in his proper education and adjustment to American life and conditions. Furthermore, since the immigrant population floats from one community to another and from one State to another, the problem is interstate—one pays the cost and the other gets the benefit of their education. Part of the cost should be borne by the nation.

#### RECENT STATE LEGISLATION

For several years Massachusetts has had statutes compelling the attendance of illiterate immigrant minors at school and a law requiring local boards of education to maintain suitable classes and schools for them. The New York State Legislature, at the last session, passed three bills similar in tenor—one compelling attendance at a day, evening, or industrial class, of each non-English-speaking or illiterate minor from sixteen to twenty-one years of age; a second requiring local school authorities to maintain suitable facilities where twenty or more such persons reside, and a third providing money for training teachers to do the work. Training under the third measure is now in progress, the State Department of Education having already organized teachers' training institutes and normal courses.

Wisconsin passed several amendments to the continuation school laws which in effect will be similar to the compulsory attendance laws of Massachusetts and New York. Arizona appropriated State aid for the education of non-English-speaking and illiterate persons, although more sweeping legislation was before the Legislature at the instance of the Governor.

#### IMMIGRANT PARTICIPATION IN AMERICANIZATION

A new principle and method is being worked out in Americanization. This originates from the participation of hundreds of racial and national societies in the sale of Liberty Bonds, War Saving Stamps, and in other movements relating to the war. Heretofore it has been the general practice to deal with the immigrant as a subject for Americanization rather than as a joint partner in the making of a united America. Today we are gravitating toward making him one with us in the process. This is a safe method to pursue because he who participates and cooperates in anything of vital interest to himself naturally makes greater strides forward. More and more are departments of the Government appointing representative foreign leaders upon committees and recognizing them officially in some way. This is going to have a very wholesome influence on the movement to mould all the peoples of this country into one united nation. It will be of greatest interest to watch the development of this new principle, for it is likely to become the most effective method in the making of a united America.



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

**HON. FRANK A. VANDERLIP, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF NEW YORK AND CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON WAR SAVINGS, ADDRESSING A "WAR-STAMP RALLY"**

(Mr. Vanderlip, who is a broad thinker and publicist as well as a practical financier, has been teaching the country on every possible occasion that the war must be won by labor and supplies and that the individual must practice economy and thrift)

## THE GROWTH OF WAR SAVINGS

BY FRANK A. VANDERLIP

(Chairman of the National War Savings Committee)

**A**N estimate made the middle of July places the total number of people in the United States who have definitely pledged themselves to save and invest in War Savings Stamps at 34,409,967. It is not professed that that figure is absolutely accurate, but it is a close approximation, and is believed not to be an overstatement. It marks such a six-months' growth of the War Savings movement as to be profoundly impressive.

Early in July the demand for War Savings Stamps was so large that at one time the Bureau of Engraving and Printing presses had to cease printing our ordinary postage stamps to turn out enough War Savings and Thrift Stamps to meet the demand. A single day's cash sales reached \$16,431,933.

The War Savings movement was inaugurated last December. The plan was new,

the form of security was novel, the fundamental idea of a discount security where the interest was accumulated to the end of the period, was unknown to small investors. There were still many people who believed that "business as usual" was the proper course and who looked upon the whole War Savings movement as unwise, and did what they could to discourage it. Fortunately the clear vision of the Secretary of the Treasury saw distinctly the fallacy of the arguments favoring business as usual. His utterances were courageous and made in the clearest and most emphatic of language.

It was obvious that a great campaign of education had to be carried out and a doctrine preached that was not altogether an agreeable one to listen to. It was not a complicated doctrine. It merely impressed the size of Government requirements in a

war which, more largely than any other previous conflict, is a war of equipment, of machine shops, of raw material, and transportation. It seems probable that something like a third of our industrial capacity is needed by the Government for its war requirements.

The thing that it has been necessary to get into the minds of the American people is that they personally get in the way of equipping the Army if they compete with the Government for labor and material by buying unnecessary things. That doctrine has been preached with great fervor, with endless, sound, economic illustrations, and with such convincing logic that it has now been accepted almost universally. It was absolutely essential that the people should comprehend the doctrine of goods and services, should see that there was not labor and material enough to gratify all their wants, and leave a remainder sufficient to permit the Government to equip the Army.

That was the main thing that the War Savings movement was intended to accomplish. What it might accomplish in the way of financial aid to the Government was secondary and uncertain.

I presume when the Secretary of the Treasury asked Congress to fix an authorization of War Savings securities amounting to \$2,000,000,000 that no one expected anything like that sum would be accumulated from the small savings of the people this year. It is still too early to predict with accuracy how much money will flow into the Treasury, but the rapid growth of the receipts makes it certain that the amount will

be very important and may reach the cash total of a little over \$1,600,000,000; which will represent the sale price of the entire \$2,000,000,000 maturity value of War Savings Stamps. The first half of July will show nearly \$100,000,000 receipts. The total sales and pledges may be put conservatively at \$1,500,000,000 maturity value, although the most accurate figures obtainable indicate a total much above that.

There seems to be an almost universal wish that this form of small investment be made a permanent feature of our national financial program. In legislation providing for further issues, if there be such legislation, I should hope to see incorporated a plan for converting a full War Savings certificate representing \$100 maturity value into another and still more attractive form of obligation. If it should be thought desirable for the Government ever to extend its insurance plans so as to provide old-age incomes there would be a most attractive field presented to convert full War Savings certificates into old-age annuities.

A profound impression has already been made upon our national character by this movement, although its influence is only in its beginnings. It needs no optimistic dreamer to see that with one-third of our population committed to this form of saving, the influence upon the character of a generally easy-spending people will be incalculable. Meanwhile, the financial results that will flow from any savings movement in which the individual effort is multiplied by thirty-five million will reach totals such as the world has never before known in this field.



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NEW YORK CHILDREN SELLING THRIFT STAMPS

# THE WAR SAVINGS CAMPAIGN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

BY GEORGE D. STRAYER

(Professor of Educational Administration, Teachers College, Columbia University;  
Director of the School Campaign for the National War Savings Committee)

A GREAT majority of adults who have bought War Savings Stamps have done so on account of the earnest solicitation of school boys and girls. These children have persuaded the grown-ups to buy, advancing sound arguments in favor of saving, and have insisted that their elders make the purchases in order to support the nation. Many parents and others must have wondered at the soundness of the economic argument which these boys and girls advanced, even though they were not surprised by the patriotic ardor with which they worked. The War Savings campaign has taken hold of the children in our schools and they, in turn, have carried the campaign into every home in the land.

The National War Savings Committee has sought to enlist the co-operation of children by preparing for use in the schools material supplementary to the regular courses of study. There has been no attempt to introduce a new subject called thrift. There has been provided for schools throughout the country a bulletin entitled, "How to Win the War." Children have read this document as a part of their regular work in English. They have learned in this way of the big task which the country has undertaken and of the necessity for the saving of materials and labor in order that they may be diverted from private use to the public service. These children have solved arithmetic problems in which the cost of equipment for soldiers and sailors, the money that must be spent for ships and guns, have been computed in War Savings Stamp values. They have engaged in a great national poster contest. The art classes in the schools have put the children to work trying to express the patriotic purpose back of the saving which is required of all of us. These boys and girls have become students of budget-making and accounting. By means of a bulletin which has been furnished to the schools, they have been made to understand the neces-



DR. GEORGE D. STRAYER  
(President of the National Education Association)

sity of planning expenditures in order to save. In many cases children have to-day a better appreciation of the necessity for the keeping of accounts in order that expenditures may bring the maximum of return than have their parents.

Throughout the United States there were undertaken early in the War Savings Campaign Junior Four-Minute Men Contests, in which children, with the data which were made available for them in a bulletin prepared by the National War Savings Committee and sent out under the auspices of the Committee on Public Information, prepared four-minute speeches, which they delivered before their school and the friends and



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## BUYING WAR SAVING STAMPS IN A NEW YORK STREET

patrons who were assembled to hear them. More recently, essay contests have been conducted in hundreds of school systems, and the pupil writing the best essay on how he has saved money or how he has earned it in order to buy War Savings Stamps, has had his essay printed in the local press. As an example of the splendid understanding of these children of the necessity for saving, the following essay from the Raleigh (North Carolina) schools is given below:

## HOW I CAN SAVE THINGS AND BUY THRIFT STAMPS

We are at war. We have two enemies. One of our enemies is the Hun. We must go to France to fight him. Our other enemy is extravagance. We can and must fight that enemy over here in order to win the war. In these days money is energy. We need every available ounce of energy, therefore extravagance must be stamped out.

Pershing is fighting Fritz; McAdoo is fighting extravagance. The young men of the country are Pershing's army; we are McAdoo's army. We must save every cent and buy Thrift Stamps—that is our battle. We will have to struggle against every kind of enemy from moving-picture shows to gum-drops, but we will win. We

will have to wear half-soled shoes and mended trousers and dresses, and let our hair grow six inches, but the Hun will lose. We will fight potato-bugs and weeds, that we may cut down the grocery bill and buy War Savings Stamps with the difference. Of course, there are slackers in this army, and they may readily be distinguished. They are the guys that hang around the pool room sucking early death through a cigarette, and the girls who spend all of their money on costly apparel, while the soldiers are doing without in the trenches. But these are far in the minority, and Pershing's troops in France and McAdoo's army in America will get together their loyal forces and win the war.

From some thousands of essays of this sort which have been submitted to the National War Savings Committee, there has been compiled a list of the things that children are doing to earn money to buy thrift stamps. The girls throughout the nation are doing work that was formerly done by servants employed in the families. Over and over again they report that the cleaning of the house, washing of the dishes, cleaning windows, waxing floors, beating rugs, and the like, are paid for by their parents, who formerly hired other people to do this work for them. Both boys and girls are busy conserving the food supply and working in the garden in order that they may produce the vegetables which are consumed in the home. Many of the older boys and girls are helping farmers or their neighbors who have larger plots of ground. The girls are busily engaged in canning. It is not an exaggeration to suggest that hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of food has been produced and saved by the boys and girls of America.

Boys have found a very satisfactory method of earning money in the collecting and selling of materials that were formerly wasted. They make it clear in the stories which they tell that they realize the importance of saving these materials. They are interested not simply in the amount of money which they can get to invest. It is reported that in one city old shoes were collected, for which a local dealer was willing to pay three thousand dollars. Rubber, rags, tinfoil, paper, and the like have been gathered in small and in large quantities and sold in order that boys and girls might contribute to the Red Cross or make investment in War Savings Stamps. All sorts of metals have been collected and sold in support of the campaign of saving. Girls have spent a great part of their time sewing and knitting. In many cases the sewing that was done has

taken the place of labor that would have been employed in factories. Girls who would before the war have scorned to hem towels, make sheets and pillow cases, or work on their own clothing, are now doing this work, not only for themselves, but in many cases for their friends and neighbors, in order to release for other work people who formerly were engaged in this kind of employment.

Boys and girls have both been interested in large numbers in the raising and care of animals. As is well known, pig clubs have been established throughout the United States with the avowed purpose of increasing the supply of pork. Many boys and girls have raised chickens and squabs. Many have raised mice or guinea-pigs for the use of hospitals. It is not claimed, of course, that this work was done solely in response to the necessity for increasing production and of saving which was taught in connection with the War Savings Campaign. The many campaigns which have been undertaken have supplemented each other splendidly. Children have been more willing to work hard for increasing the production of food as they have realized the meaning of saving in relation to the needs of the Government.

One cannot fail to be touched by the self-denial of children which has grown directly out of their thinking of the necessity for saving. Over and over again children report that they no longer buy candy, chewing gum, ice cream, cakes, and other unnecessary foods. They tell of the economy which they are exercising by writing on both sides of the paper, by refraining from chewing their pencils or otherwise wasting them. They tell of taking off their good shoes when they go out to play, of the work which they have done in mending and darning. There are scores of thousands of children in the United States who are thinking about their expenditures, and whose standard might be expressed by saying that they are willing to spend only for those things which will con-



THE WAR SAVINGS CAMPAIGN IN THE NEWARK, N. J., CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL

tribute to their health or to their efficiency.

One of the great gains that is to come to our country on account of the war is the development of a more thrifty people. These boys and girls who are now in school understand better than any of us did before the war the meaning of extravagance and waste. Some of them are even coming to appreciate the obligation which those who have unusual resources must accept for those who are less well off. Children no longer acclaim the one who spends most. Even among the more fortunate it is becoming popular to save and to invest in federal securities.

We may hope that out of the War Savings Campaign will be developed an understanding of the necessity for saving in order to enjoy future goods. From the teaching which now has the sanction of patriotic service we may hope to develop, upon the basis of sound common sense, the necessity for saving during the period of youth and early manhood in order that one's future economic independence may be assured. The boys and girls in our American schools are going to understand the meaning of investments. They are going to have some realization of the satisfaction which comes from knowing that the money saved to-day means more money available in later years. The thrifty American boys and girls will save in the years to come, and save by being less extravagant and less wasteful, the money that it will cost us to win the war.

# SAVING FOR UNCLE SAM AND FOR YOURSELF

BY E. TILDEN MATTOX

(Chairman W. S. S. Rally Committee, New York Mercantile Exchange)

**W**HILE millions of men and women stand ready to loan their money to the Government, there are many who do not yet understand the successive steps by which the holder of a twenty-five-cent Thrift Stamp may become the proud owner of a Liberty Bond, an investor in the securities of the United States. Let us briefly explain this process.

First, as to *Thrift Stamps*: Hand twenty-five cents to any authorized agent, bank, or post-office, and receive a Thrift Stamp card to which you proceed to attach each Thrift Stamp until the card contains sixteen stamps of the value of \$4. At the time you receive the Thrift card, write upon it your name and address, so that, if lost, the finder may drop it in any post-office box without the payment of postage and it will be returned to you. Thrift Stamps do not draw interest. Their object is to enable the accumulation in small sums of the amounts required for the purchase of War Savings Stamps.

*War Savings Stamps*: When a Thrift card is filled with stamps you may take it to any authorized agent, bank, or post-office, and upon surrender of it with the payment of a few cents in cash (according to the calendar month) you will receive a War Savings Stamp and a War Savings Certificate. On this certificate the agent will write your name and address. This certificate will hold twenty stamps. When a War Savings Stamp is attached to a War Savings Certificate it becomes a Government obligation, with the same security as the Liberty Bonds. The promise to pay is backed by the faith and

honor of the United States and by the taxing power of the richest nation in the world.

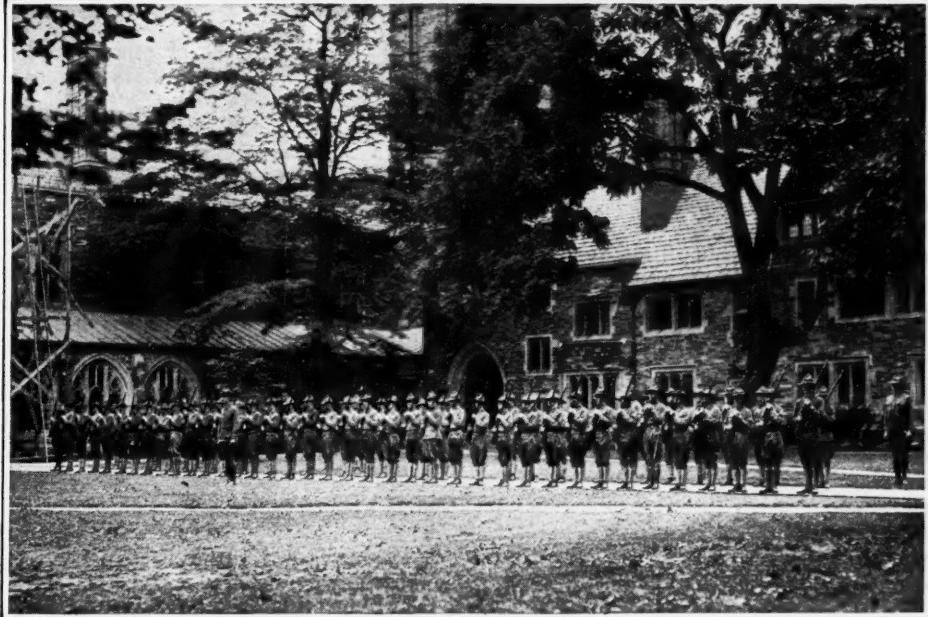
A War Savings Certificate may be registered at any post-office. Each stamp put in the certificate must be registered thereafter. You can write across the face of each stamp your name and the number of your certificate. Payment will be made at the post-office where the certificate is registered, or, if not registered, at the Treasury Department at Washington, or at any money-order post-office, after ten days' notice. The post-office is the only place where you can surrender your War Savings Certificate before its maturity and get your money back.

Now, having filled your Thrift Stamp card and having surrendered it for a War Savings Stamp, you repeat the operation until your War Savings Certificate is completely filled, and you are the owner of a certificate for which the Government will pay you \$100 (\$5 for each stamp) on January 1, 1923, or which has a surrender value at any time before that date.

It is said that more than 17,000,000 Americans are now the holders of Liberty Bonds. Others would buy these bonds if they thought they had a safe place in which to keep them. Almost any bank, trust company, or savings institution will be glad to take your bonds for safe keeping, giving you a receipt for them and making no charge for the service, unless you desire to have a safe-deposit box.

At every stage of his progress on the road of thrift, the prospective bondholder may have the advice of experienced bankers, chairmen of War Savings committees, or his own employer.

**W. S. S.**



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

PRINCETON'S "COMPANY A" AT DRILL

## MILITARY AND NAVAL TRAINING AT PRINCETON

BY PRESIDENT JOHN GRIER HIBBEN

THE problem which presents itself to us at Princeton is one which has also been in the minds of the parents of our young men generally. It is this,—how we can best fit these boys before they reach the age of twenty-one for war service. The President of the United States, the Secretary of War, and the General Staff at Washington have urged the young men of the country to continue their education during these troublous times and in this way to qualify themselves as officers in the United States Army and Navy.

The natural impulse of boys between eighteen and twenty-one is to enlist immediately for some form of active service. The spirit is altogether commendable, but the question of the wisdom of such a course at once challenges, and naturally should check, such precipitate action. The great need of the army and navy at the present time, we are told by those in authority at Washington, is for capable officers, and to this end there

must be a systematic and rigorous training. It is not enough to offer to the government the enthusiasm and ardor of youth, but also a disciplined mind and body and trained intelligence and experience in military theory and practise. Everyone should desire to give to his country a service that is of maximum value. We therefore feel at Princeton that we should provide thoroughgoing military and naval courses for our young men and at the same time afford them an opportunity to pursue academic studies that will entitle them to an academic degree. Consequently we have devised a plan by means of which a student entering Princeton can complete his course, leading to the degrees of A.B., B.S., or LittB., within three years instead of four, provided he is willing to give nine weeks for courses in each of the two intervening summers.

Our courses are designed to prepare our students for service in the United States Army and qualify them also for admission

to the new officers' training schools for Infantry and Machine Guns, and for commissions in the Field Artillery. The arrangements both in the military and naval courses are such that any student of Princeton University who is qualified for it will receive a commission in the army or navy.

The three-year military course has been devised to meet the situation, that students at entrance to Princeton are of the average age of eighteen years and three months. They would naturally obtain their degree, therefore, at the time of becoming of age and ready for military service. The studies of the military course are primarily of a scientific nature, with a certain number of courses also in languages and history. They are largely academic in character, so that a student may receive a substantial education as well as military training and will be graduated by the time he becomes subject to the draft.

The military instruction in connection with this course will be of a theoretical and practical nature, including lectures, recitations, and demonstrations of the infantry drill, minor tactics, target practice (individual, collective, field firing), problems in musketry, signalling (semaphore, telegraph, wireless), machine guns, bombs and bombing, gas engines, administration, topography, gas defense, practical military engineering.

#### UNDERGRADUATES UNDER MILITARY DISCIPLINE

There are two characteristic features of this military course:

First, the University believes that in the present crisis all students who are physically fit should have some military training and discipline. Accordingly it has been decided to urge all of our students to take the course of military or naval training and discipline as a patriotic duty. All undergraduates choosing these military or naval courses will be under constant military discipline. They will live in military dormitories and their general life will be according to the order of the day.

This is certainly a very radical departure from the free life of our undergraduates and the traditional liberty of our Princeton campus. We feel very strongly, however, that the present crisis demands not only the simplifying of our life, but a daily preparation for the inevitable service ahead. The men who are to command others must learn not merely to obey in a general way, but

must acquire the habits of army discipline and that instant obedience to command which marks the true soldier. This cannot be done in a day or in a few months. It requires a long maturing process. To prepare adequately for the military life and its rigorous discipline the old liberty must be sacrificed.

It is needless to say that this is the day of sacrifice; and they who are conscious of daily sacrifice can thus truly feel a sense of comradeship with those who are already in active service.

#### ENLISTMENT OF STUDENT SOLDIERS

The second feature of our military life,—the Government has recently issued an order requiring students, of eighteen years and older, who take military training in a college, to enlist. Students under eighteen are expected to enrol in one of the training units. The enlistment contract of all students over eighteen will constitute them members of the Army of the United States, and they will become thereby subject to active service at the call of the President. The enlisted students will be on furlough status until called to the colors and will receive no pay or allowances except when attending summer training camp, in which case they will be entitled to transportation and rations as provided in the general orders of the R. O. T. C. All enlistments will be in the grade of private. According to the order of the Government, no student in any college of the United States may take a military course without enlistment:

It will be the policy of the Government not to call members of the Students' Army Training Corps units to active duty until they reach draft age, unless urgent military reasons compel an earlier call. A system will be devised whereby the military instructors of the colleges will certify to the Adjutant-General of the Army the names of those students who are members of the Students' Army Training Corps who have reached draft age. Orders will then be issued calling such students to duty on the thirtieth of the following June. This will permit them to complete the college year in which they are then engaged. It is emphasized that the student body is not to be made a deferred or favored class under the Selective Service Act.

A student following the three-year course after the freshman year will still continue to lead the military life and be under military discipline, as will also any student receiving military instruction, whether in connection with the regular four-year curriculum or as a special student. The military



A TRENCH FIELD AT PRINCETON

studies and discipline may be taken as electives in the regular four-year curriculum leading to Bachelor degrees; or as part of the schedule of any special students who are not candidates for degrees. In all cases where military studies are taken enlistment and the military life and discipline will be required as indispensable.

A special feature of our military course is the thoroughly grounded instruction and drill in musketry. To facilitate the progress of our students in this essential and all-important branch of the service we have recently installed a number of landscape targets devised by Captain J. R. Cornelius of the Canadian Army and painted through the kindly courtesy and generosity of Mr. Howard Russell Butler, a graduate of Princeton of the Class of '76. The main purpose of the landscape target is to place in a building a picture of a few miles of country from which the recruit may be taught to recognize and aim at targets, such as folds in the ground, houses, trees, and other objects that would make an aiming mark in war, learning from a verbal direction and description to locate rapidly and shoot accurately. These targets bring a recruit into active service conditions quite early in his training, and when he is taken out onto the open range in

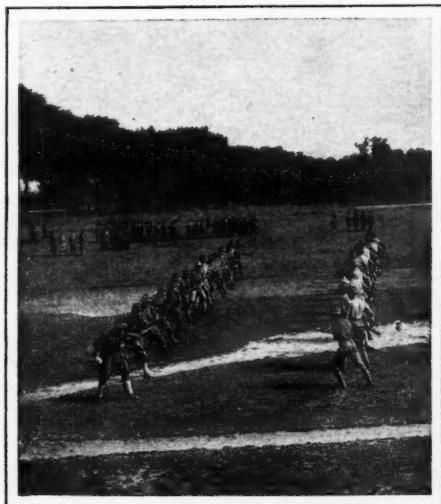
the later stages of musketry, enable him to give a good account of himself in a day or so, as compared with the usual method of training which used to take weeks and very often then with only unsatisfactory results. The Princeton School of Musketry is to be made a special feature of our instruction.

The whole plan of our military courses has been submitted to the General Staff of the United States Army and has their hearty endorsement. In particular they urge the importance of the military life and discipline as the essential feature of the scheme.

#### FIELD ARTILLERY TRAINING UNIT

Princeton has also made an arrangement with the War Department in accordance with which its students can obtain the theoretical training for the Field Artillery equivalent to that given at the new Central Officers' Training School for Field Artillery at Fort Taylor, Louisville, Ky. This will be supplemented by a considerable amount of practical training for the Field Artillery. To this end the War Department has promised to send to Princeton next year an equipment of guns, horses, and fire-control instruments under the direction of an artillery officer.

When a student has satisfactorily com-



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

## BAYONET DRILL AT PRINCETON

pleted the course, on recommendation of the University, he will go as an Officer-Candidate to a Field Artillery Replacement Depot for a short period of additional practical training and observation. Upon the successful completion of the latter he will receive a commission in the Field Artillery.

Our military courses are under the direction and supervision of Lt.-Col. John A. Pearson, an officer of the Regular Army, and University Professor of Military Science and Tactics. Colonel Pearson is assisted in his work by Captain J. R. Cornelius of the Canadian Army, and by Lieutenant Paul de Fourmestraux of the French Army.

## PRINCETON NAVAL TRAINING UNIT

The naval course and training at Princeton are designed to prepare a student for the examinations for commission as Ensign in the United States Navy, the commission to hold for the period of the war. The courses form part of curricula leading to the regular bachelor degree.

A member of the Princeton Unit, who has enlisted in the Naval Reserves, will be placed on the inactive list and detailed to Princeton for study during the time the University is in session and will be subject to active service at other times. An arrangement has been made with the Fourth Naval District by which a student, enlisted in the District, on satisfactory completion of the naval courses at Princeton and after several months' ac-

tive service in the District may present himself for examination for a commission as Ensign in the Naval Reserve, on recommendation of the Commandant of the Princeton Unit, Rear-Admiral Caspar F. Goodrich, U. S. N., that he possesses aptitude for the service as an officer.

A Naval Reserve Ensign will be sent either to Annapolis for the intensive course preparatory for the examination for a commission as Temporary Ensign, U. S. N., or he will be sent to the Fleet. In the latter case, after three months' service, he may apply for an examination for a commission as Temporary Ensign, U. S. N.

The strictly naval courses deal with Navy Regulations, Signalling, Nautical Astronomy, Navigation, Seamanship, Ordnance and Gunnery, Elementary Marine and Electrical Engineering. In each course the subjects will be treated even more fully than is required by the Bureau of Navigation for those intending to take an examination for a commission in the Reserve. In fact, the courses will be equivalent to those in the Intensive Course at Annapolis.

In addition to the regular courses, there will be lectures on special topics from time to time by officers detailed for the purpose.

These theoretical courses will be supplemented by practical naval instruction, including various kinds of drill, which will be conducted by naval officers detailed to Princeton for the purpose, assisted by students of the Unit, who are enlisted in the Reserve and are now being trained to this end at Cape May and Newport.

A student who has satisfactorily completed one year in another college of recognized standing may be admitted to Princeton and take the naval courses, either as a candidate for a degree, or as a special student not a candidate for a degree.

SPECIAL COURSES IN ENGINEERING,  
MEDICINE, AND CHEMISTRY

There are certain kinds of training which are recognized by the Government as of equal importance to the country with the military, namely, in chemistry, engineering, and medicine. A student in our Civil Engineering Course will be allowed to take military training the first year, but after that to devote all his time to engineering work, and with two summer sessions can obtain his degree in three years. A similar arrangement has been made in the new three-year plan affording preparation for the

study of medicine, and also for students specially qualified for work in chemistry.

#### SUMMER SESSIONS

The Three-Year Military Course provides for two summer sessions of nine weeks each. The first summer session began on June 24. Four hours of each day except Sunday are being devoted to practical military instruction, in addition to guard duty and marching to meals and recitations. The academic courses being given this summer are: Surveying, Descriptive Geometry, Modern Languages, and Gas Warfare.

The new order of the War Department concerning Students' Army Training Corps units makes the following provision for summer training:

The summer camp will be an important feature of the system. Summer camps for a period of six weeks each year will be provided for members of the training units. At these camps there will be an intensive and rigid course of instruction under experienced officers. Transportation to and from the camps and rations while at the camp will be furnished by the War Department.

The War Department has agreed to make an arrangement by which a student attending the Summer Sessions at Princeton will not lose the benefit of the training to be provided in accordance with the above order.

The main purpose and policy of our educational program at Princeton is to maintain the supply of potential officers for their coun-



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REAR-ADmirAL CASPAR F. GOODRICH, U. S. N.  
(Commandant of the Princeton Naval Unit)

try's service. We have already in active service 3755 of our graduates and undergraduates. Of this number thirty-five have made the great sacrifice and are on the Honor Roll of the University. It is also a matter of pride to us all that forty-one of our men have received decorations for conspicuous bravery under fire.



"COMPANY B" GOING TO DRILL

Aug.—5

# WHY THE ERA OF CHEAP FARM PRODUCTS IS OVER

THE FACTS ARE NOT THAT CROP PRICES HAVE BEEN ADEQUATE AND HAVE NOW BECOME EXORBITANT, BUT THAT A NUMBER OF CAUSES HAVE HERETOFORE FORCED PRICES DISASTROUSLY LOW AND PERMANENTLY ENHANCED PRICES MUST NOW BE LOOKED FOR

BY CLARENCE POE

(Editor of *The Progressive Farmer*; author of "How Farmers Coöperate and Double Profits," etc.)

THE food problem is serious now during war times, but it must not be forgotten that it was becoming serious before war began. Moreover, it will be serious after the war is over.

It is highly important, therefore, for the nation to get a clear understanding of the agricultural situation. And the first big fact it should recognize is that the real problem is not to get cheaper food, but to get enough food, even at present prices. The era of cheap food is over.

When I say prices of farm products are to stay "high," if present prices are so considered, I do not mean that the farmer is to be a profiteer or reap unearned profits at the expense of other classes. By no means. The prices of farm products must stay high as compared with former prices for these products, simply because the consumer has heretofore paid the farmer less than a living wage. As Alva Agee puts it, our city consumers have been "objects of charity" in that they have received the benefits of the unrewarded labor of women and children on the farms.

Of course, some men have all along made money at farming. No one denies that. But when one reads that this farmer or that has made a profit of ten cents a pound on cotton, of fifty cents a bushel on corn, it by no means follows that the man making the economist's "last considerable quantity required to supply the world's need" is even breaking even. To begin with, let the interested reader ascertain just how much corn or cotton the farmer with a family of five finds it physically possible to produce, and hence what is the total profit per family

under the most favorable of the widely varying conditions. Widely varying conditions, I say, because while our manufacturers of any line of goods have rather uniform machines and expect a rather uniform product per worker, an industrious farmer may get 100 bushels of corn per acre from his rich Iowa soil, only 10 bushels from a Vermont rock-ridge, and find total failure in a drouth-cursed area in Kansas; just as two-bale-per-acre land in the Mississippi Delta may yield \$5 per day for the labor expended in cotton-growing, while thousands of cotton farmers on sandy wastes or gullied hillsides yielding one-fifth of a bale per acre may not receive returns equal to 25 cents a day in wages.

It is impossible longer to grow food enough under such conditions as have prevailed in the past. And instead of resting under the wholly unfounded charge that they are profiteers, our farmers and those familiar with farming conditions desire to present certain fundamental facts to the considerate judgment of their fellow citizens. These facts have heretofore been too largely ignored, and national leaders intent upon reducing the cost of living to consumers regardless of the effect upon producers, may continue to ignore them for a time. But in the long run we can evade neither these facts nor their logical consequences.

The elemental fact is that the cost of making farm crops has increased not only in the same proportion as other costs have increased, but more largely than other costs—as a result of certain economic and social changes I shall later set forth; and for the nation to refuse to face this fact can in the

long run bring but one result. If farming is not now made sufficiently profitable to hold labor from the high wages offered by city and factory, then that labor, deserting the farms, will continue to reduce both the ranks of rural producers and the quantity of rural production, until the pendulum at last swings back, finally forcing prices to a figure where rural labor will be as well paid as urban labor—as it has never been in the past.

The farmer puts his case strikingly when he asks, "Can you expect me to grow corn and cotton on \$150 land and buy fertilizers at anything like what it used to cost me on \$15 land without fertilizers?" This may be an extreme illustration, but it is indicative of the situation with regard to advancing land values and decreasing soil fertility. "The actual value of the soil for productive purposes," as James J. Hill said in his famous 1906 speech on "The Nation's Future," "has already deteriorated more than it should have done in five centuries of use." Much Western land, as the late Henry Wallace remarked to me three years ago, while advancing threefold in value in thirty years, is actually producing less corn than then.

Let us put somewhat more in order the essential facts affecting American crop production and increased crop prices.

#### MORE CONSUMERS, FEWER PRODUCERS

(1) The first thing that occurs to the average man in this connection is probably the increase in the percentage of urban population and the decrease in the percentage of rural population; though it is to be doubted whether the extent and speed of this tendency is half appreciated even by our more thoughtful classes. Secretary Lane called attention the other day to the official 1880-1910 census figures, noting that in 1880 only 29.5 per cent. of our people lived in cities and 70.5 per cent. in the country, whereas in 1910 the rural percentage had shrunk to 53.7 against an urban growth to 46.3.

From his failure to mention it here, it would seem that even Secretary Lane has overlooked the later announcement of the Census Bureau to the effect that in 1917 the proportion of rural dwellers (including those in towns of 2500 or less) had shrunk to 51 per cent.; and the next census will undoubtedly show that America has joined the group of other nations the majority of whose people are urban. If Mr. Jefferson were living, the announcement would doubtless come to him "as a firebell at night"; and certainly

the seriousness of the situation it suggests is not diminished by the rapid progress of the same tendency in other countries. In England and Wales, as I found on a recent visit there, the urban population in thirty years had increased from 17,000,000 to 28,000,000 while the rural population in the same period had actually decreased from 8,300,000 to 7,900,000.

*Year by year the number of food consumers becomes relatively greater, the number of food producers relatively smaller. This is the first great factor explaining increased food prices.*

#### END OF SOIL-EXPLOITATION

(2) Perhaps the biggest unrecognized element in increased crop prices is the passing forever of cheap new lands in the Great West—the end of an economic as well as of an historic era. Never in any other half-century since Adam has any such empire been brought under the plow as in this Western country of ours from 1850 to 1900. In these fifty years, as Mr. Hill pointed out in his famous speech already noted, America's improved acreage was increased nearly 300 per cent. while the total agricultural acreage increased nearly 200 per cent., or by 547,640,932 acres—an area equal to more than ten Minnesotas.

And this vast area, be it noted, rich with the stored fertility of forgotten seas and a later æon of fruitful summers, on coming finally into cultivation was farmed by "soil miners," as Henry Wallace termed them. Men rushed in and used up this stored fertility as rapidly as possible, the fierce competition among new settlers reducing crop prices to ruinous levels, insomuch that Mr. Hoover himself, the exponent of present-day food conservation, has doubtless seen Kansans, as I have, who have used corn for fuel. That the benefit of this soil-exploitation went to consumers in the form of lowered prices and not to producers in the form of increased profits finds historic proof in the Grange, Alliance, and Populist movements of Western agricultural distress from the early '70's to the later '90's, in the mortgage and tenancy records of that period, and in such poignantly vivid stories and autobiographies as those of Hamlin Garland.

Barely getting laborers' wages for themselves and selling food without any reckoning of the soil fertility or soil exhaustion it represented—somewhat as if one man should present another with a bank check on the

basis of the check's value as paper without regarding its depletion of his bank reserve—the Western farmers not only brought disaster to their own section but forced prices to a ruinous point for the rest of America, almost putting agricultural New England out of business, distressingly depressing the South, and seriously injuring farm profits all over Europe. Only a few months ago Mr. George W. Russell, the Irish rural leader, pointed to the definite removal of the former cut-throat competition of these undervalued and marvelously fertile Western lands as one of the chief reasons for believing that farm products would remain permanently higher.

*The "soil mining" on virtually free lands in this vast agricultural empire has been perhaps the chief agency in forcing food prices below the cost of production in recent years—and this factor has now fortunately disappeared forever.*

#### NEGRO FARM LABOR

(3) Another unconsidered element in forcing crop prices to unprofitable levels during the last half-century has been the congestion on the land of the 4,000,000 negro slaves set free after Appomattox (one-eighth of America's total population in 1860), and their descendants. These were virtually agricultural serfs, attached by tradition and sentiment to the soil. The new freeman's labor, like the new Western land, had acquired no standard normal value; and his low living standards now, as previously, depressed Southern crop values much as the new lands depressed Northern crop values.

Hence cheap and undervalued (potentially speaking) negro labor was reducing profits on cotton, tobacco, and rice and driving the Southern landless countryman to the cotton mill at the same time the new and unvalued or undervalued Western lands were reducing profits on corn and wheat and driving New England farmers off the soil. As late as 1890 the average wage of male farm labor in the South Atlantic States was only \$13.94 per month, against \$24.72 in the North Atlantic States, the difference being largely the result of the congestion of former slaves and their descendants in Southern farm work. Those old conditions are now steadily changing as a result both of the better distribution of labor and of education and race development in raising the negro's living standards.

*Abnormally cheap negro labor, like ab-*

*normally cheap Western lands, lowered prices to the benefit of the consumer rather than enhanced profits to the benefit of the producer, and the disappearance of this cheap labor as negroes largely enter town industries, North and South, removes another factor which has helped keep prices abnormally low and to that extent releases these prices to seek normal and higher levels.*

#### MOBILITY OF LABOR

(4) This leads to the further point that not only negro farm labor, but white farm labor also, is constantly gaining in mobility, and cannot be kept on the farm unless profits equal to those in town are offered it. The Census Bureau gives the average annual wage of industrial workers in the last census year (1909) as \$518.70, this including men, women and children. In the same year on our American farms the average wage of even adult male labor, without board, was only \$305.52 a year. This further attests the truth of my statement that what we confront is not a case of crop prices being formerly adequate and now unreasonably high, but rather that crop prices were formerly unreasonably inadequate and only now are we beginning to establish an economic equilibrium.

*With the increased mobility of labor, if the nation is to have sufficient food, crop prices must be advanced to such a point as to offer as good wages and as high relative standards of living in country as in town.*

#### GROWING PERCENTAGE OF TENANT FARMERS

(5) Another reason why crops were formerly sold below cost of production is that millions of farmers, unrecompensed for their labor in the prices of their products, were content to keep on farming because they were reaping the "unearned increment" in land values. Now, however, this is being changed by the rapid increase in the percentage of tenant farmers—from 25 per cent. in 1880 to 37 per cent. in 1910. Would any city business man, renting an office building, stay in business merely because doing so notably increased the value of the building, another man's real estate? Just as little will any like reasoning operate to keep the tenant farmer on the soil. He must have his reward in fair prices for the crops he himself has to sell, not in increased values for land some one else owns.

*Capital and labor are unfortunately being segregated into classes in farm production as*

well as in factory production, and we cannot expect considerations inuring to the benefit of rural capital to hold rural labor on the soil as has been the case heretofore.

#### RURAL, AS WELL AS URBAN LABOR MUST HAVE STANDARDS

(6) Writing in his "Wealth of Nations" in 1776, the year of our Declaration of Independence, Adam Smith declared that from the downfall of the Roman Empire the policy of all great nations "has been more favorable to arts, manufactures, and commerce, the industry of towns, than to agriculture, the industry of the country"; and this has continued true down to our own time. Formerly the farmer felt that he was to be discriminated against only to the advantage of capital and "protected" industries, but latterly he finds a new menace in the demand that he furnish low-priced food in order to maintain "modern living standards" among organized urban laborers, while such standards have not even been established for our unorganized rural labor, and the nation's leaders seem blind to the necessity for establishing or protecting any such modern standards on a parity with those of the town laborer.

Right now, for example, it is not only seriously proposed to have our war-built ships make a specialty of bringing in cheap farm products from foreign countries after the war, but a propaganda has been begun for duplicating conditions so unfavorable to farm prosperity which followed the over-stimulation of Western land-development after the Civil War. For our returning soldiers, it is argued, millions of acres of arid Western lands must be irrigated under government supervision, and millions of acres of Eastern and Southern cut-over and swamp lands drained and made fit for agricultural production.

But no one seems to have pointed out that lands already cleared will more than take care of all the demands of men who really wish to make crops; and that if conditions are such that men will not go upon the farms now in operation because profits now go too largely to the land-owner and too little to the land-laborer, a remedy that is not to hurt as much as it will help must be found in something else than the forced and sudden development of a vast area of new lands. That could only result, as did the over-stimulation of Western farm-settlement fifty years ago, in reducing the too small margin

of profit for laborers already at work on farms. And in the long run the number of agricultural workers added and the number of productive acres added by opening up the proposed new areas would probably not greatly exceed the number of workers forced off the soil, and the number of acres thus forced out of production, in the areas now under cultivation.

*All of which brings us back to the point with which we started out—namely, that if crop prices are not now maintained at such figures as will afford workers on the farm like advantages with workers in towns, the number of urban consumers will increase and the supply of rural production decrease until the growing menace of food shortage brings about that violent readjustment which it were better to promote by gradual means.*

I hope I have now made clear the truth I set out to urge upon fair-minded Americans—namely, that the real fact is not that crop prices were formerly adequate and have now advanced to unreasonable levels, but that, for the several reasons I have indicated, crop prices have long been unreasonably and disastrously low and are just now advancing to a reasonable point; from which fact it follows that the nation's real problem is not that of lower prices for food, but that of getting enough food even at present prices. Nor should I fail to make it clear to fair-minded men North, West, and East, that while I have emphasized food crops, the same considerations demanding increased prices apply not only with equal force in the case of cotton and tobacco, but probably with somewhat increased force, since no other crops grown require so much expensive hand labor, now the chief factor in crop expense, and no other crops require such expensive fertilization.

Of course, along with increased crop prices as a fundamental factor in insuring adequate crop production in future, must go a well-considered and statesmanlike program of rural development, including a better system of rural education; better marketing methods; a system of taxation that will encourage home ownership and discourage tenancy, instead of the reverse; provisions for longer leases for tenants and easier credit for would-be home-purchasers; and the nurturing of those forms of rural coöperation which are so strikingly transforming Ireland and Denmark. But all that, as Mr. Kipling would say, is another story.

# CALIFORNIA'S PLAN FOR LAND SETTLEMENT

BY VERNON M. CADY

ON a tract of some 6000 acres of agricultural land in Butte County, California, has just been launched an undertaking which is pregnant with possibilities for a new and better order of rural life in America. In 1917, the legislature of California created a commission known as the Land Settlement Board, and appropriated \$260,000 for an "experiment" in state-aided and directed land settlement. Ten thousand dollars of this sum was a gift of the State to the enterprise; the \$250,000 constituting a loan secured by the land and its improvements, and repayable in fifty years. This loan, upon which the Settlement Board pays 4 per cent interest, is to be used as a rotating fund for successive investments in State colonies.

The \$250,000 is potentially capable of commanding one million dollars of capital. The law contemplates the joint use, when required, of landholders' and settlers' capital and Federal Farm loans. However, it is already apparent that the Land Board could operate to better advantage if it were able to purchase land outright, and yet have a reserve sufficient for subdivision and development.

#### FAILURE OF COMMERCIAL COLONIES

Commercial colonization in the West has almost ceased. This is not due, however, to lack of agricultural opportunity, land, or the land hungry, but because real-estate projects have seldom been laid out on an economical or scientific basis. Small regard has been paid to soil character or the security and adequacy of water rights. The price of the land has often been far in advance of its productive value; the terms were usually one-fifth down, 6 per cent. interest, and the balance in from five to ten years. Usually all the settler's capital was absorbed in the first payment, leaving him little or nothing to meet the great expense of preparing the land for irrigation, etc. His fears for the future were quieted by the repeated state-

ments of the land operators that "the land would pay for itself."

The State Commission on Land Colonization and Rural Credits examined the accounts of one thousand settlers on many commercial colonies. Not one had been able to make his payments according to contract; from 6 per cent. to 12 per cent. interest was being demanded for deferred payments, if indeed the settler was not closed out. The evidence revealed many cases of hardship, suffering, and loss.

#### INCREASE OF TENANT FARMING

But commercial colonization is not the only rural problem confronting the West. The fairest and richest parts of California are being deserted by owners, and turned over to tenants, the great majority of whom are European and Asiatic aliens, and from whom land-owners can get greater rents than their own profits represent. The cities are growing at the expense of the country. All classes of citizens, even the land companies, have acknowledged that the time has come for some remedial action.

Even with such a preliminary explanation of the rural problems of the West, the Easterner will have difficulty in understanding such a policy as the Land Settlement Board of California is created to administer, without a knowledge of and sympathy with the spirit which prevails in Western America in regard to social legislation.

#### PROGRESSIVE SPIRIT OF THE WEST

One finds in the West a certain willingness to apply a stricter logic to affairs; the bearings of the various factors, human and material, in a given situation, are seen more clearly, and there is more of an inclination to apply the appropriate remedy than in the East. Not that the West does not have plentiful examples of the abuse of State offices, the inertia of officers, the waste and control by big business, the serious rural problems, the exploitation of resources, and all

the rest of unsocialized activity that goes by the name of "business" everywhere in America. But in the West, more emphatically than in the East, there is a disposition to consider fundamentals, to strike at the root of evils, to trust human nature, to undertake social exploration, to follow close behind the pathfinders in other countries, and to temper the doctrine that the state finds its highest duty in policing private property.

#### ELWOOD MEAD, DIRECT ACTIONIST

But it is doubtful whether the progressive tendencies of the West would have created the State settlement plan without the leadership of Elwood Mead, chairman of the State Land Settlement Board, and professor of Rural Institutions in the California College of Agriculture. Both the man and the chair which he occupies express the best spirit of the West in rural affairs. The department of Rural Institutions is unique, being created to "determine by scientific investigation to what extent existing rural institutions have been outgrown by modern conditions, and where necessary to propose more effective forms of organization."

Elwood Mead is a direct actionist if there ever was one. Here is a college professor without a trace about him of that emasculated material out of which the academic mind too often builds its objective world. The class-room, an Agricultural College class-room at that, is a place where those truths may be taught, or those facts presented, which may be immediately translated into social, not to say spiritual benefits to the race.

#### EXPERT ON IRRIGATION

Here is a civil engineer who has made a new profession, that of irrigation engineer, and who has compiled the basic materials for such a profession. This man created—out of the welter of conflict, chaos, and custom, into which the use of water in the West had fallen—a water law, first adopted in Wyoming, which has done more than any other single agency to make the West what it is to-day. Going to Australia, he created there in eight years, even in that country of forward-looking ideas, a new agricultural civilization. To-day in the United States he is mapping a new order of rural organization which State governments and probably the Federal Government, are being forced to adopt, just as the West was obliged to adopt a water law, and Australia a new form of



PROFESSOR ELWOOD MEAD, CHAIRMAN OF THE CALIFORNIA LAND SETTLEMENT BOARD

(Dr. Mead was for twelve years the State Engineer of Wyoming and in that capacity brought about the adoption of the Wyoming Irrigation Law later enacted in other Western States. For several years he was chairman of the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission of Australia. He is the author of many important reports on irrigation and engineering problems and now occupies a chair in the University of California)

settlement, by the logic of circumstances and force of obviously superior human benefits.

#### WHAT DR. MEAD'S LAW SEEKS TO BRING ABOUT

Why, asks Professor Mead, do we not study the rural situation in all its bearings, and, like an engineer, go to work and produce the rural structure that is desired?

What do we desire to accomplish in the way of rural reorganization? We wish to do away, as far as possible, with tenantry, with absentee landlords. Where these exist there can be no community life worthy of the name. We want land values to represent their real productive worth in order that the tiller of the soil shall not be burdened with a debt to the speculators, for which he can never make the land pay. We want young people to go upon the land, either country or city bred, and not to be obliged to wait until they are forty years of

age, as they now do, before they can get the necessary capital.

We wish to see the farm-owner instructed in the complicated processes of agriculture at least as well as his city brother is instructed in the industrial processes, and not left to make mistakes, the results of which either threaten disaster, or the effects of which cannot be overcome in years. We want to provide the industrial and social basis for thoroughgoing coöperation in stock-breeding, auctioning produce and buying supplies. We desire to supply sufficient credit to place a farm on a productive basis in order that the owner may provide adequate shelter and conveniences.

We want to make certain that no deception as to soil character and value takes place in the buying of land, for few are able to judge soil accurately. Great numbers of settlers in the West are doomed to loss or an impoverished life, owing to the purchase of poor soils. Among other things, we want to see a new outlook for the farm laborer. He should be given an opportunity to become an independent, respected, skilled, and well-rewarded member of the community, with the way opened to land ownership on a small holding.

#### GENEROUS TERMS TO SETTLERS

The California Land Settlement Law, drafted by Dr. Mead, proposes to do all of these things. Moreover, it is doing them, and on a scale only limited at present by the resources provided. Of the 10,000 acres authorized by the act, 3000 have already been settled. It comprises some of the best land, in the prettiest section of the State. A good proportion of the area was put in crops, and all would have been under cultivation had time permitted.

The settler pays 5 per cent down and has twenty years to pay the balance, with 5 per cent interest. When necessary, 40 per cent of the settler's own capital is advanced for improvements, buildings, etc. A farm laborer may get two acres and credit from the Board for home-building, with little or no cash outlay.

When public announcement was made of the purchase of this land by the Board, more

than three thousand inquiries were received; there were as many as twenty applicants for those farms which were best prepared and most ready to yield a return. Applicants were selected on the basis of capital possessed, character, thrift, youth, experience, and other qualities making for good neighbors and good risks. Settlers were asked to keep breeds of stock selected with the aid of the Board.

Advice and direction are always available from the superintendent. An architect who has made a specialty of laying out farms and building country homes is employed by the Board to help the settlers. Over half the settlers have already made arrangements through the Board for building their homes and drilling their wells for domestic use.

A doctor, several carpenters, a shoemaker, and people who expect to work on the neighboring farms, have taken the twenty-odd two-acre homesite allotments.

Those who believe that this kind of legislation savors of paternalism are unacquainted with the risks, soul-breaking hardships, long-delayed returns, and great capital required to develop a farm under irrigation in the West, and to make it yield a return sufficient to provide a satisfactory standard of living. Surely this is not more paternalistic than free grant land. As a matter of fact, experience will no doubt show, in Dr. Mead's opinion, that even the present concessions of the act will prove to be insufficient when settlement is undertaken on a large scale. More liberal credit will be necessary, and a much longer time of payment.

This is an example of government acting at its best. It lends its power to overcome rural maladjustments, it mobilizes its agricultural experts, it inspires a new hope and confidence in the settler, it lends its credit without burden to the tax-payer, and in this particular instance it will place 160 families on a tract of land on which not a single owner has lived for many years.

An astonishing number of the soldiers in the British Imperial armies have expressed their desire to take up land after the war, under some such plan as this. Professor Mead has shown that this country may do as much for those men of the National Army who may elect to do the same.



# BRITAIN'S NEW DEMOCRACY

BY FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG

(Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin)

A MEASURE which doubles at a stroke the parliamentary electorate, enfranchises six million women, provides for absent (and even proxy) voting by three million soldiers and sailors, redistributes seven hundred parliamentary seats, introduces a scheme of proportional representation, paves the way for a new balance of party forces, and, in short, throws open the floodgates for democracy in a great conservative nation—such is the British "Representation of the People" Act, which received the royal assent on February 6.

## *Reform Efforts Before the War*

The tradition-encrusted electoral system which this extraordinary piece of legislation swept into oblivion had stood substantially without change since the reforms of the second Gladstone ministry in 1884-5. In the twentieth century it was a gross anachronism. The suffrage, both parliamentary and local, was fixed in terms of ownership or occupation of property, and the rules governing it were so complicated that none save the lawyers made any pretense of understanding them completely. Property qualifications and registration requirements kept two million male residents from voting, while at the same time half a million large property-holders were privileged to move about the country at election time, voting in every constituency in which they could qualify. There was no provision for redistribution, periodic or otherwise, of legislative seats in accordance with changes of population. No reapportionment had been made since 1885, and when the present war began some members sat at Westminster for fifteen, and even twenty, times as many constituents as others.

No public question in the past twenty years—not even preferential tariffs, the House of Lords, or Ireland—has more than momentarily obscured the great and growing issue of electoral reform. Mr. Balfour's Unionist government got so far in 1905 as to introduce resolutions looking to a redistribution of seats. A ruling of the Speaker cut off debate. But the Liberals, who came

into power at the close of that year, attacked the general problem with zest. For a decade action was delayed, partly by the pressure of other tasks, but mainly by the inability of the parties, and of groups within the parties, to come together upon a plan. The Liberals were interested chiefly in the abolition of plural voting, because most plural voters were Unionists. The Unionists were interested mainly in redistribution, because the advantages accruing from the overrepresentation of Ireland and from other apportionment anomalies fell largely to the Liberals and their allies. The one party urged the doctrine of "one man, one vote"; the other, that of "one vote, one value." Both were sorely perplexed by the rising demand for the enfranchisement of women.

In the summer of 1912 the Asquith government brought forward a long-promised bill, providing for manhood suffrage and abolishing plural voting and the separate representation of the universities. Redistribution was deliberately postponed, and woman's suffrage went unmentioned. Strong opposition arose, even among the Liberals, and in the following January the measure was withdrawn. Effort was then directed specifically to the abolition of plural voting. Twice during the next eighteen months a bill for this purpose was passed by the House of Commons and rejected by the House of Lords, and it seemed altogether probable that a third passage in the lower chamber would make the measure law (in accordance with the terms of the Parliament Act of 1911) over the almost solid opposition of the Lords.

Then the war came on. Of necessity, the plural voting bill was dropped, and for a time no one supposed that any electoral question would claim the government's attention until after peace should have been restored. As, however, the contest passed into its second, and eventually its third, year, the reasons for electoral legislation became more than ever urgent. The patriotic course adopted by the woman suffragists, and the conspicuous service rendered by women generally, forced the conclusion that "votes for

women" must come eventually, and in simple justice ought to come soon. The emphasis placed upon the war as a fight of democracy against autocracy made it imperative that the nations opposing the Central Powers be themselves truly democratic. Even more important was the fact that, as a result of wholesale enlistments in the army, and of the further dislocation of population incident to the development of war industries, the old electoral system had quite broken down. By general consent the life of the parliament chosen in December, 1910, was prolonged beyond the normal five years, in order to defer, and perhaps to avoid altogether, a war-time election. A general election, however, there must eventually be; and whether before or after the cessation of hostilities, it would demand, in all justice, a radically altered system of registration and voting, if not new franchises and other important changes.

#### *England at Last Has Manhood Suffrage*

In view of these things, Parliament, in the summer of 1916, entrusted the preliminary consideration of a new electoral law to an extraordinary commission, chosen by the Speaker of the House of Commons and presided over by him, and constituted with much care to represent in proper proportion not only the several parties and groups in Parliament, but the various bodies of public opinion on electoral questions throughout the United Kingdom. This "Speaker's Conference," consisting of thirty-six members from both Houses, began its work October 10, 1916. Its report was presented to the House of Commons in the following March, and on May 5 Mr. Walter Long introduced, in its behalf, a "government" bill which nine months later was placed on the statute-book of the realm. Conceived primarily as a piece of suffrage legislation, this Representation of the People Act had meanwhile grown into a general electoral law, more comprehensive and revolutionary than any kindred measure in all English history.

The first great contribution of the act is manhood suffrage. To arrive at this it was necessary to give the time-honored English conception of the electoral function a violent wrench. The property basis had to be given up and the suffrage accepted as a right belonging to the individual as such. This revolutionary decision once arrived at, the rest was easy. The whole mass of existing limited franchises was cleared away, and in their

stead was set up one general franchise for all male subjects of the crown twenty-one years of age or over, and resident for six months in premises in a British or Irish constituency, without regard to value or kind.

#### *Voting of Soldiers and Sailors*

It is no longer necessary that the voter be at his home on election day in order to cast his ballot. He may arrange to receive and return the ballot-paper by post. Even under normal conditions, this would mean the practical enfranchisement of many thousands of men—merchant seamen, commercial travelers, fishermen, and others—whose occupations keep them away from their homes. Under the present war conditions, it means very much more than that.

The main immediate purpose of the act was, indeed, to bring back into the electorate the millions of men whose war service temporarily disfranchised them under the old system. Full provision is accordingly made for the registration of soldiers and sailors in their home constituencies. If within reasonable distance they may personally vote by post; if not, they may designate persons at home to act as their proxies and vote in their behalf. Furthermore, the voting age for all men who have rendered military or naval service in the present war is fixed at nineteen, rather than twenty-one.

#### *Plural Voting*

Contrary to expectation, plural voting survives. The Conservative elements insisted upon retaining it as a means of preventing the submerging of the more educated and more wealthy part of the electorate, and the Liberals pressed their point only to the extent of securing a limitation of the number of votes that any one elector may cast to two. Under two conditions one may have a second vote: (1) as an occupier for business purposes of premises worth £10 a year in a constituency other than that of one's residence, and (2) as the holder of a degree from any of the several universities named in the act. The number of universities separately represented is increased, and the university franchise is broadened by being extended to recipients of *any* degree, instead of merely to holders of the older arts degrees.

#### *Votes for Women*

Two years of war brought the advocates of woman's suffrage an advantage which no amount of agitation had ever won for them,

namely, the backing of the Government; and a few months more carried their cause to a victorious conclusion which could hardly have been reached in a full decade of peace. Now that men were to have the suffrage *as persons*, it was more than ever difficult to withhold it from women. Indeed, in the present juncture—in the face of woman's incalculable services to the nation—to withhold it was quite impossible.

Powerful opposition, of course, was raised. All of the old anti-suffrage arguments were heard again, and in addition it was contended, with more or less plausibility, that a woman's enfranchisement act ought not to be put on the statute-book without a referendum, or by a parliament which had overrun its time by two full years, or while three million men, including more than one-fifth of the members of the House of Commons, were absent in military service.

The decision, none the less, was to confer the parliamentary franchise upon every woman thirty years of age or over who occupies a home, without regard to value, or any landed property of the annual value of £5, of which either she or her husband is the tenant. The age limit thus fixed was objected to as arbitrary and illogical, especially in view of the fact that more than three-fourths of the women employed in the munition plants are under thirty.

The reason for this feature of the law is simple enough—to prevent the female voters from outnumbering the males. Opponents of enfranchisement marshalled statistics to show that when the inevitable equalization takes place women voters will be in a majority by upwards of two millions.

The effect of the foregoing legislation is to multiply the British electorate by two. Lord John Russell's reform act of 1832 created half a million new electors, raising the proportion of electors to one in twenty-four of the total population. Disraeli's act of 1867 created a million electors, raising the proportion to one in twelve. Gladstone's act of 1884 added two million electors, making the proportion one in seven. The act of 1918 adds eight millions, bringing the proportion up to the remarkable figure of one in three. Of these eight millions, one-fourth are men and three-fourths women.

#### *Redistribution of Seats in Parliament*

Unlike the scores of electoral bills that have made their appearance in Parliament in the past thirty years, the new act brackets re-

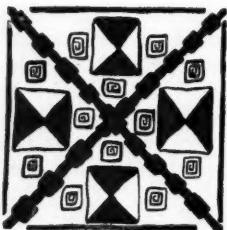
distribution with franchise reform. Fixing as a standard one member for every 70,000 people in Great Britain, and one for every 43,000 in Ireland, it bestows representation on thirty-one new boroughs and takes it away from forty-four, and in other ways so rearranges the constituencies as to bring up the whole number of members of the House of Commons—already the largest legislative assemblage in the world—from 670 to 707. England, with 492 seats, gains 31; Wales, with 36, Scotland, with 74, and Ireland, with 105, gain 2 each. The disproportionate representation of Ireland remains, but is subject to change when the Home Rule question is settled.

The Speaker's Conference recommended the adoption of a general plan of proportional representation, and the House of Lords, looking ahead to the time when the conservative elements are likely to be in a decided minority, held out resolutely for the principle. On five occasions the House of Commons voted adversely. But in the end the chamber was obliged, in order to save the bill, to agree to a provision for the appointment of a commission to prepare a plan for the election of one hundred members by proportional representation in specially formed constituencies returning from three to seven members.

The effect of these stupendous changes upon the relative strength of parties, and upon the course of British legislation and politics, remains to be determined. No one doubts that Britain is headed toward a mighty political and economic overturn in consequence of the war. To a considerable extent, the revolution has already been accomplished. It has been charged that the driving force behind the suffrage clauses of the late act was the Labor party, which expects to turn the new stream of electoral power to account in winning the coveted control of the nation's affairs. This is at best but a half-truth. Yet it is not to be doubted that the mass of the newly enfranchised men, and at least half of the enfranchised women, are of liberal, and in many cases radical, bent. The thing, however, that is of chief present moment to a struggling world is the fact that liberalism, in the larger sense, has won a new and mighty triumph in one of its oldest and most honored seats. While battling for her very life in a war that is to make the world "safe for democracy," Britain has given new proof of her faith in the rule of the common man.

# AMERICAN TEXTILE DESIGNS

BY MARION NICHOLL RAWSON



put together, and yet it is only since Europe has been plunged into war that the fact has been brought home to us that we are almost entirely dependent upon foreign countries for the design side of the work. France has been our great source of accepted design and it has been the fancy here to look rather slightly on any designs produced in this country.

The textile industry is the largest industry in the world, barring agriculture, and dates back twenty-five thousand years to our earliest ancestors, the Swiss Lake Dwellers.

Man apparently began to weave as soon as he began to live on the earth, although it was twigs which he used for warp and more twigs or grass for woof. Through all this long chain of years weaving has developed and always by hand, until Arkwright, less than a hundred and fifty years ago, made in England the first machine textile in a mill. Since then all of the advance in machine textiles has been made, and America stands at the head of the list of textile-making countries.

Now, however, we are brought face to face with our limitations. Of what value is our great technical knowledge of textile production if we are dependent for an equally important part of the work upon a market which may become inaccessible to us at any time?

It may be said that since the earliest days the growth of a nation has been expressed in its weaving. So much was the woven fabric a part and expression of the weaver's life that in many countries the last piece which was worked on by the departed one was placed in the mummy case with the body at burial. To think of disassociating the

A M E R I C A  
stands twenty-five years ahead of Europe in textile machinery and labor-saving devices, and manufactures more textiles each year than all of the European countries

design from the weaver was something which the originators of weaving would have found impossible. And yet in this day we perfect the machinery in one country and buy designs, for so much a sheet, in another, and then wonder why our textiles are not as lovely as the old ones, especially since our machine work is so excellent.

Through many years American art students have peddled their designs, hoping against hope that some day the American manufacturer would realize that there was talent in his own country and would be as proud to advertise home-made designs as he has been heretofore to advertise those from abroad. It has been a long and tedious time of waiting, but at last the patience of both art teacher and student is being rewarded.

Within the last three years men who represent science, art, manufactured production, and the press have united in a campaign for the development of a School of American Design. With a basic support of such varied interests the success which is already attending their efforts was assured from the beginning.

The four men who have taken the initial steps in this work are Maurice De Camp Crawford, Research Associate in Textiles at the American Museum of Natural History; Dr. Clark Wissler, Curator of the Department of Anthropology; E. W. Fairchild, of Women's Wear Company, and Albert Blum, treasurer of the United Piece Dye Works. Coöperating actively with these men are also Dr. Frederick A. Lucas, director of the American Museum of Natural History, and Henry W. Kent, secretary of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

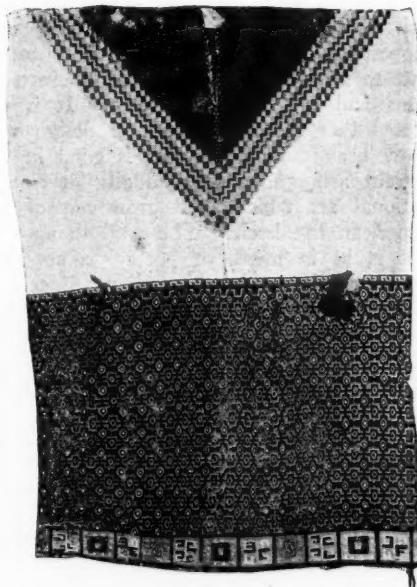
## A COMPETITION OF AMERICAN DESIGNERS

A contest among the designers was proposed, the designs submitted to be based upon motifs found either in the museums or public libraries. Two purposes were evident in this stipulation—the first, that of having the motifs suggested by some really approved design; the second, that the public libraries

and museums should become known as centers of vast wealth for educational and creative work.

Thereupon Mr. Crawford and Dr. Wisler arranged a series of lectures at the Natural History Museum, dealing with ancient and modern textiles, possibilities of primitive art as applied to modern weaving, and a looking back to pre-historic Peru which stands alone on her summit of achievements in textile-making. Mr. Blum, as expert on the commercial side of designs and their technical application, bent his energies to bringing to the minds of the young designers the very practical idea that a design to be valuable to trade must be made with its application in mind. To quote Mr. Blum exactly: "Know when you start a design for what it is to be used. And above all, if you are designing a silk for a coat lining, make it what you would love to have in your own coat." Mr. Fairchild, through the press, threw the contest open to the entire country, offering at the same time a number of prizes amounting to nearly \$600. The competition was completely successful.

When the war had broken off long-established business relations and America, standing on her pinnacle of mechanical supremacy, found herself cut off from her old sources



PERUVIAN PONCHO

(The predominating colors are a faint greyed-ivory and a strong red. The design is the jaguar spot in black and red. A suggestion for modern design)



AN INCA PONCHO FOUND IN A STONE CHEST ON THE ISLAND OF TITICACA, PERU

(The Peruvian cock, appearing thirty times, inconspicuously in the front alone, gives the design its name. The colors are red, deep purple, yellows, greens, and blues. A suggestion for modern design)

of artistic supply, the silk and cotton manufacturers looked about to discover, if possible, means of supplying their demand among their own countrymen. The young art students, designers, and art directors showed by their quick response that they were ready and eager to fill the long-coveted place. Visits were made to the museums by the silk and cotton men, and the curators opened their stores to the astonished visitors. Impressed by the results of the competition and convinced at last that there was material for countless designs in the museums of this country, they have opened the long closed doors to the American designers.

#### AMERICAN SILKS WITH AMERICAN DESIGNS

The silk manufacturers and printers are buying the designs offered by the home artists. The retail houses are ordering these native designs and will, of course, advertise them as enthusiastically as they formerly advertised those from abroad. The prices paid are good. Young designers are even retained by one silk concern to give their entire time to the study of design problems and to turn out purely American work. By these methods of coöperation is the real American textile being born.

## HOW THE MUSEUMS CONTRIBUTE

The museums of the country are rapidly coming into prominence as important educational centers.

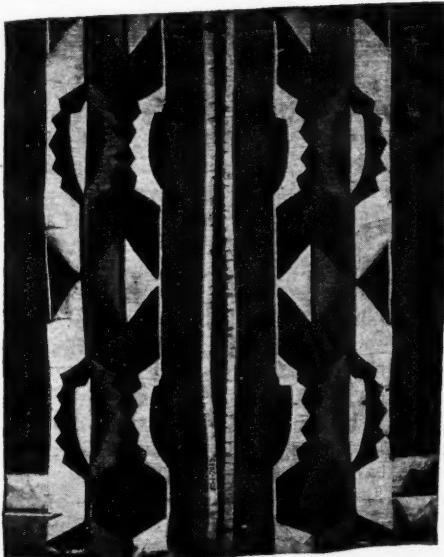
For many years the American Museum of Natural History has been collecting and exhibiting historical relics from all over the universe. The aim of the curators has been to classify these in the simplest way possible and make the museum a really usable organ of research. Help is offered and given to any student who asks it, and the popularity of such a workshop is naturally growing. Whole classes go to study the design on old fabrics, and the material which has hitherto been known to comparatively few people is now becoming familiar to many.

## ANCIENT PERUVIAN EXAMPLES

The exhibit of early Peruvian textiles is attracting most attention in this new work. This is the finest exhibit in the world which has been taken from that country, and has been the basis for a large majority of the designs recently made and accepted.

The fact that Peru, geographically isolated from the rest of the world, developed her own art of textile weaving from the first steps to a position of undisputed supremacy, without showing the influence of any other country, makes this exhibit unique in its value. The earliest work of the Egyptians shows no signs of having antedated the early Peruvian arts, and it is thought by some that many of Solomon's treasures came from this land of ancient culture.

There was no form of weaving which the Peruvians did not know, and some which they did know are still unknown to us, who proudly hold the palm for textile machinery to-day. The designs which come to us from their graves of four thousand years ago are taken from animal and plant life, human life, and geometric figures. These designs are so beautiful that our own designers are studying them constantly and choosing from them motifs with which to beautify the modern machine-made fabrics. The early Peruvians are also considered among the finest colorists. Often their units of design were used simply as carriers for different color combinations, whole textiles being sometimes made with no two units of the same color



POTAWATOMI INDIAN WOMAN'S SHAWL OF RED BROADCLOTH

(White, blue, black, yellow mauve, purple, and green stand out from the red background. Used as a suggestion for an accepted modern design)

scheme, and yet the whole a perfect chromatic harmony.

## A NATIVE AMERICAN SCHOOL

It would seem, then, that this country is rich in the possession of so much help and suggestion. It would, however, be unfortunate to infer that we are to use ancient designs and call them American. It is expected that this new school of design will draw heavily upon all that is good in the ancient arts and will gradually develop a national art which shall grow out of the American life itself. The vital thought in design, as in music or poetry, comes only from real life, as has been shown since prehistoric days. The art of all peoples has come from their need of expression of beauty, it has been symbolic of common life—sometimes glorified—and has been applied to the common things of the common life.

With the new spirit of appreciation abroad and the assured financial recognition which is so necessary, there is every reason to believe that our native designers will measure up to the mark which has been set for them by designers abroad.

# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

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## IMPORTANT EUROPEAN DISCUSSIONS

OUR readers will note that a slightly larger proportion of this department than usual is devoted this month to articles from foreign sources. We particularly invite attention to important German articles expressing radically diverse points of view. Maximilian Harden, the fearless editor of *Zukunft*, is represented on this page; Dr. Hans Delbrück, the learned authority on government, on page 193; a well-informed writer on the German iron and steel industry on page 194, and a writer in the *Deutsche Revue* on page 200.

An extended survey of Bulgarian press comment on the war appears on pages 195 and 196, and an intelligent account of the present position and aims of the Czechoslovaks on page 197.

An up-to-date description of the condition of the Cape-to-Cairo railroad project from the pen of a French observer appears on page 205, and this is followed by a resumé of the article contributed by General Smuts to the

*Century* magazine for July on the subject of German East Africa, of which he himself was the conqueror.

We are indebted to a French writer, Paul Darcy, for an excellent exposition of the ramifications of German propaganda in the United States before the war, which is summarized on page 208. Another French writer brings out very clearly in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* the importance of sulphuric acid in the war. A digest of his article appears on page 213.

One of the Italian reviews, *Nuova Antologia*, has published an article showing the remarkable revisions of the Great War expressed by Friedrich Engels, the German Socialist and life-long friend of Marx. This article is tersely summarized for our readers on page 209.

The rebuilding of the Spanish Navy of which little has been known in the United States, is described on page 199 on the authority of a writer in the *London Engineer*.

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## A GERMAN GRILLING OF KAISERISM

EVER since the beginning of the war Maximilian Harden, the editor of the *Zukunft* at Berlin, has been a thorn in the side of the German Imperial Government. From time to time his journal has been temporarily suppressed by the Government only to make its reappearance to the surprise of friend and foe alike. For this editor is unsparing in his criticism of Imperial policy and outspoken in his denunciation of those in high places when he believes their conduct merits rebuke. In none of the Allied countries has the comment on Germany's conduct of the war been more cutting or severe than the editorial articles written by Harden.

One of the July issues of the *Zukunft*, judging from passages cabled to the *New York Times* from Amsterdam, exceeded all

of Harden's former efforts in violence of onslaught. The editor's philippic was occasioned by the Kaiser's speech delivered on the thirtieth anniversary of his accession to the throne. Harden begins by quoting from the first French Yellow Book to show how in 1913 the war feeling was rising in Germany and then he says:

We have done everything to make it easy for the French and British to show that every impression of 1913 is a reality in 1918. Indeed, until the days of the middle of June, only one thing had been wanting, namely, proof that the Kaiser had long regarded the war as inevitable and desired something like world rule.

The speech delivered on the thirtieth anniversary of his ascension—and a wise Chancellor would have suggested an inspiring message of thanks to the nation, a far-reaching amnesty, or

generous gifts to the army, as more appropriate—has at length filled this gap. In long articles filling whole pages of the newspapers, joy was expressed regarding the speech. The French, we were informed, were not even mentioned. They were regarded, like the Slavs and others, as worn out. It was openly admitted that the army had been prepared for war and that only the Prussian and German conception of the world was consistent with right, freedom, honor, and morality; that the war was not a mere strategic campaign, but that it could not be ended until this conception triumphed absolutely over the Anglo-Saxon pagan worship of money. And yet, with that as our aim, we hear sneers from all quarters that the repetition of Moltke's warning that the next war might last thirty years was an exaggeration.

How, asked others, does this fatalistic view fit in with the official legend of the attack which took a peaceful people by surprise? And what will the attitude of the German people be to the call to fight and starve until the Anglo-Saxons of England and America are annihilated or forced to adopt the manner of thought prescribed by German Kultur?

Harden hails the Kaiser as the head and front of the whole Pan-German movement, and he asks whether Austria-Hungary and Germany's other allies will have any protest to make against the idea that they are fighting for the triumph of the "Prussian-German conception of the world."

Harden is free to admit that no President or Government of the United States could have failed to declare war when the unrestricted U-boat warfare was introduced, and he proceeds to comment on the marvelous spectacle of England, the United States, and France, once enemies, now standing shoulder to shoulder and together celebrating the Fourth of July.

Could Austria's ruling house [he asks] celebrate in the closest harmony with Prussia July 22, when in 1742 Silesia was taken from Austria? People who in freedom choose the way of their destiny can always reach friendship. Because the dynasty at Windsor does not indulge in incendiarism and does not need to fester in blood, the wound of 1776 is fully healed,

Following is this German editor's tribute to the British principle of self-government:

That England is decided, and as her colonies have already shown, to bestow the blessing of the right of self-determination on all races grown out of infancy only a fool can doubt. Only an ignoramus can assert that Lloyd George will not more surely stand and fall by home rule than Hertling by the Prussian franchise reform, and that under the "dictatorship" of Lord French the spirit of the Irish has not more freedom of expression than our own state of siege permits.

## THE ROME CONGRESS OF OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES

THE resolutions adopted at the Rome Congress of Oppressed Nationalities of Austria-Hungary, held in April last, are published in English by the *New Europe* (London). We reproduce them here:

The representatives of the nationalities subjected in whole or in part to the rule of Austria-Hungary—the Italians, Poles, Rumanians, Czechs, Jugoslavs—join in affirming their principles of common action as follows:

1. Each of these peoples proclaims its right to constitute its own nationality and state unity or to complete it and to attain full political and economic independence.

2. Each of these peoples recognizes in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy the instrument of German domination and the fundamental obstacle to the realization of its aspirations and rights.

3. The assembly recognizes the necessity of a common struggle against the common oppressors, in order that each people may attain complete liberation and national unity within a free state unit.

The representatives of the Italian people and of the Jugoslav people in particular agree:

1. In the relations between the Italian nation and the nation of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes

—known also under the name of the Jugoslav nation—the representatives of the two peoples recognize that the unity and independence of the Jugoslav nation is a vital interest of Italy, just as the completion of Italian national unity is a vital interest of the Jugoslav nation. And, therefore, the representatives of the two peoples pledge themselves to employ every effort in order that during the war and at the moment of the peace these decisions (*finalita*) of the two nations be completely attained.

2. They declare that the liberation of the Adriatic Sea and its defense against every present and future enemy is a vital interest of the two peoples.

3. They pledge themselves also, in the interest of good and sincere relations between the two peoples in the future, to solve amicably the various territorial controversies and of the right of the principles of nationality and of the right of peoples to decide their own fate, and in such a way as not to injure the vital interests of the two nations, such as shall be defined at the moment of peace.

4. To such racial groups (*nuclei*) of one people as it may be found necessary to include within the frontiers of the other there shall be recognized and guaranteed the right to their language, culture, and moral and economic interests.

## GERMANY AND RUSSIA—THE GERMAN VIEWPOINT

**I**N the *Preussische Jahrbücher* for April, Dr. Hans Delbrück writes at length on the peace with Russia and the relations of Germany to the border nations. The peace of Brest-Litovsk, which has given so much to the Germans, has not, we are told, met with universal approval in Germany. There are those who declare that the victory is too great, and fear that Russia will sooner or later seek revenge. They say a wise policy should rather seek to establish future friendship with Russia, and they would have the conquered provinces remain federated with the Russian Empire. Any other policy, they argue, would make Russia a permanent ally of the Western powers and prepare the ground for a future war of revenge. These views are represented by certain democratic journals. Formerly it was the journals of the Right which regarded Russia as a future friend to Germany, now it is the journals of the Left which wish consideration to be shown to the Russians, and desire that no Peace of Tilsit shall be imposed on them. This line of thought seems to be based on the idea that Russia, though internally changed, will remain a great power.

### HOLY RUSSIA

To this Dr. Delbrück replies that it was Czardom and autocracy which made Russia great. Is there any prospect that the power who was able to bring under her sway all the peoples and countries on her borders, from Lapland to the Caucasus, from the Vistula to the Amur, and who entertained great ideas of still further conquests, will rise again from her ruins? The greater part of the economic wealth of Russia, he says, has been destroyed, but it is not altogether beyond the bounds of possibility that it may be restored in course of time. Failing such restoration the military power which made Russia a great power can never be restored. What Russia possesses is merely immense territory and an enormous population, and these alone do not suffice to make a great power. But why should Russia, with so great a past, not survive and become rejuvenated after the defeats of 1915 and the internal break-up of 1917, as Prussia did after the Peace of Tilsit?

Such a thing, says Dr. Delbrück, seems quite impossible, because the old forces are

exhausted and no new ones appear in sight. Russia was great because, not only the people and the state, but people, state, and church were regarded as one. To the Russians Russia was not only the Fatherland, but the Orthodox Land, Holy Russia. It was religious belief combined with successes and victories abroad which created the glowing patriotism of Russia. Now that these successes are gone, patriotism has been extinguished, Czardom has fallen, the army is in ruins, the bureaucracy is broken up, and land ownership and the Zemstvos, etc., have disappeared.

The church was a very important factor in the building up of Russia, it was the mother of modern Czardom. Now the church is unable to construct a new Russia because the motives by which it was inspired are antiquated. Again, if a military state is to be reconstructed, there must be economic forces with which to do it, and a very long time must elapse before these can be restored. But only political reconstruction could make Russia a great power once more, and that, we are assured, may safely be excluded from the reckoning.

### NO FEAR OF REVENGE

The notion that Germany should show any leniency towards Russia and not impose on her a Peace of Tilsit for fear of awakening a spirit of revenge is, therefore, in the opinion of Dr. Delbrück, quite a mistake. Germany, he writes, has no need whatever to fear revenge from Russia as a state, though the Russian people may be inclined to cherish such a feeling. The future cause of anxiety of Germany in regard to Russia is not a rejuvenated or liberated Russia. It is the fate of Germany to have to protect civilization against Bolshevism.

### THE FUTURE OF THE BALTIC PROVINCES

As to the future of Livonia, Estonia, and Finland, the simplest method of dealing with them seems to be the constitution, according to nationality, of a series of small independent states. But the conditions are unequal. Finland, after Bolshevism has been overcome with German aid, might form an independent state of sufficient stability. Not so Estonia and Livonia. There is a school in Germany which declares separa-

tion of these provinces from Russia out of the question, though there is no prospect of an ordered Russian Federal Republic. But as things are, Dr. Delbrück says reunion with Russia would mean national death for the Baltic states. There remains union with Germany, and a strong party favors this solution. The most difficult point is the distrust of Europe, the reason for Germany's appearance in Finnish waters being regarded not for the protection and salvation of these provinces, but for a campaign of conquest.

Dr. Delbrück has already warned Germany against annexation, direct or indirect. The Lithuanian problem leads to Poland, and the Polish question cannot be separated from the Ukraine. Whatever the constitutional relations of the lost countries of Russia, an increase of power to either Germany or Austria is most improbable. Nevertheless, the relations of the Eastern powers have been entirely transformed, and it is the disappearance of Russia as a great power which is the real deciding factor.

## GERMANY'S IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY AND ITS WAR-TIME RESOURCES

**I**N the *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* there is an article, by Dr. J. Reichert, on the German iron and steel industry in the war. Between Metz and Luxemburg are to be found the greatest German treasures of ore, which before the war has supplied Germany with 80 per cent. of her home requirements. Thanks to quick German mobilization these were saved, as were those in Upper Silesia, which were threatened by the Russians. Had Germany lost Lorraine, it may be that only about one-fourth of her requirements of iron and steel in peace times would have been available for the German army and navy. Considering the enormous development of the fighting area, Germany was badly prepared for the war. The great battles in Flanders have cost Germany in a few hours more iron than the entire war of 1870. Many Germans do not understand the objective of the fighting at Verdun, but those who know what the country west of the Moselle means to Germany in the matter of ore and iron will realize that she was fighting for the chief item of her war economy. It is the great merit of the army of the Central Powers that in the first months of the war it was able to tear from France the frontier of the iron district.

Germany does not produce ore in sufficient quantity. The home production, extensive as it may seem, is so limited that in view of the enormous needs of German industry it will last, at most, only about half a century. After that Germany will be entirely dependent on foreign supplies, and in a future war could not therefore arm herself with any German iron. In 1913 nearly half of the iron in Germany was made from foreign ore, and she required no fewer than twenty coun-

tries to supply her. No other country of any importance is in such a position in the matter of iron. The war had scarcely begun when Germany found her foreign supplies cut off, whereas her enemies not only had in their own countries larger supplies of raw materials, but they could draw on all other parts of the world. In 1915 Germany began the transport of ore from French Lorraine to Germany, also raw iron and steel products. The mines of German and French Lorraine were worked, and in various parts of Germany, especially in Hanover, smelting works, etc., were extended to meet war demands.

With all this there would not have been enough iron for the war had the Germans not been able to keep their enemies out of the Fatherland, and had they not conquered important iron territory. Germany still suffers from lack of iron, for she has not been able to make good by a long way the loss of oversea supplies. The complaints about the high prices of iron and steel in Germany in comparison with the prices of the great iron countries of England and America are not justified. An examination of the prices during the war shows that Germany industry has remained the cheapest in the world. It was a great help to Germany that the iron industries of England, France, Italy, and Russia together could not make more iron and steel in the war than Germany alone, and that the Austro-Hungarian achievement was equal to the Belgian. But when the Americans came to the aid of the Entente they were able to throw so much into the scale that Germany's enemies have twice as much iron at their disposal as Germany.

## WHAT ARE THE BULGARIANS FIGHTING FOR?

THE attitude of America towards Bulgaria is the subject of serious speculation abroad. Some attribute the non-interference of America in the Balkans as a diplomatic measure to detach Bulgaria from the Central Powers. Others claim that the Bulgarian agents have prevailed upon the missionaries to exert their influence in order that no harm should come to Bulgaria, where Protestant proselytism has prospered more than in any part of the Balkans.

Whatever the cause of America's omission to declare war upon Bulgaria, one thing is certain, namely, that Bulgaria's entrance into the war was not accidental; it was premeditated and long prepared. What are the Bulgarians fighting for? Mr. Tsanoff, a Bulgarian assistant professor in the Theological Seminary of Houston, Texas, in an article in the *Journal of Race Development* entitled, "The Case of Bulgaria," claims that Bulgaria went to war in order to liberate the Bulgars of Macedonia; that Bulgaria is not a tool in Germany's hands; that she is in sympathy with the democratic principles enunciated by President Wilson.

We shall let the Bulgarians speak for themselves.

Mr. Radoslavoff, the Bulgarian Prime Minister since July, 1913, had occasion to define the aims of Bulgaria. During his visit to Berlin, he said, according to the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna (June 11, 1917):

We want Macedonia—that is, we don't want it, because we already have it. Our troops are in Macedonia, and we will never get out of it.

At all costs we must be neighbors with Austria-Hungary. Our friendship has grown during the war and has become an alliance as solid as rock. Now we can clasp hands across the Morava Valley. This neighborhood was very necessary for us. Some day we should have to have it. I ask myself how much have the Austro-Bulgar relations suffered by the unfortunate fact that Serbia

has come in between us. The way which leads from Bulgaria to Europe is now open. This passage has been secured without the violation of the principle of nationality which the Allies have so insistently put forward. We have been accused by the Allies of conscripting from the conquered countries. The conquered lands are Bulgarian. If we have shed our blood to conquer them, it is not in order to leave them alone.

Of course, it is unnecessary to mention here that the land of which Mr. Radoslavoff speaks as Bulgarian is the eastern portion of the old Kingdom of Serbia, which separated Bulgaria from Austria-Hungary. "These lands are Bulgarian." And so, Serbia is Bulgarian. Almost all of the Serbian population has been exterminated, as we shall be told by the Bulgarians themselves.

Commenting on these declarations of Premier Radoslavoff, the official organ of Sofia, *The Echo of Bulgaria*, wrote:



CZAR FERDINAND OF BULGARIA

The propinquity of the two countries secured by a common effort against most formidable enemies is a new factor of friendship between the Monarchy and Bulgaria. Even if the latter had no right over the Valley of Morava, the need of having a free line of communication with the Central Powers would be for her a sufficient reason to claim its possession. In Vienna, where the interests of the Monarchy in the Balkans have always been well judged, the need of having on the Danube a friendly nation, and consequently a direct communication with Bulgaria, are two thoughts unanimously agreed upon. Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, Bulgaria, subject to most trying privations, hold fast against an ever-growing coalition, and it is their adversaries that waste themselves in a struggle as sanguinary as it is vain. Russia is from now on incapable of any serious effort, and there is room for belief that if the Allies succeed in persuading her to try again she will experience a fatal disappointment. At any rate, without Russia the war on the Continent is virtually ended.

Already in 1908, Ferdinand and Vienna had agreed about a coup d'état in the Bal-

kans. Three things were to take place, namely, the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the coronation of Ferdinand as Czar of the Bulgars, and the extermination of Serbia, to open the way to Austria for Salonica, and to Germany for Bagdad. The program was not fully carried through then, but it was not abandoned.

In July, 1915, General Angeloff issued a pamphlet, "The Hour of Bulgaria." We quote:

Besides the signal services which Germany renders to us by the destruction of France and Russia, she shows us also the unique way whereby we can realize the hegemony in the Balkans. The nation which aspires to hegemony must prepare to fight against all her neighbors. The German example shows us that we cannot attain to hegemony except by violence. If we do not obtain it, we cannot be the Prussians of the Balkans.

Here is the greatest ambition of Bulgaria—to become the Prussia of the Balkans. Yet, Mr. Tsanoff very naïvely insists that Bulgaria's ideals are absolutely like those of America!

On April 11, 1917, the Bulgarian press announced the change of the Bulgarian Civil Code:

"The necessity for this modification," declared the Bulgarian Minister of Justice, "may be explained by the fact that our existing Civil Code is a sort of a copy of the French Civil Code, which is absolutely worthless. We propose to replace it by the German Civil Code, which is absolutely perfect. This transformation will have the advantage of drawing us nearer to the Central Powers."

What Bulgaria longs for is a thorough Prussianization of her institutions.

P. Oswald, a German publicist, writes:

The rôle of Bulgaria in this war has consisted in joining Turkey to Germany. As the road from Hamburg to Bagdad goes through Sofia, and as Bulgaria forms the link between Orient and Occident, she can now profit by her geographical position and fulfill her destiny in the world.

In the *Arbeiter Zeitung* of Vienna, H. Cunow writes:

It is not to the interest of Germany nor of her working classes to continue in the Balkans a policy of ideal equilibrium. If we wish to have peace in the Balkans we cannot otherwise secure it except by making the strongest and the best organized state the leader in the Balkans, and Bulgaria is the only state.

Friedrich Neumann, in a book published in 1916, "Mittel-Europa," writes:

The defeat in the Balkans will not be only a defeat of Bulgaria and Turkey, but also the defeat of Mittel-Europa. The two great Central

Powers, who have a large interest in the trade route to the East through Constantinople, would do well to watch events in the Balkans.

Nomtchiloff, a Bulgar publicist, writes: "The last Bulgar of us will perish before Bulgaria will be separated from Hungary."

This gives another insight into the insincerity of Bulgar character.

When they needed Russia they clamored that they were Slavs. Now they are Huns, and consider the Hungarians and the Turks their racial brothers. Count Tisza's organ, *Azujasaz*, writes:

The railroad Hamburg-Bagdad joins the Tourainian peoples into one geographic unity.

*The Nazodni Prava* of May 19, 1916, gives the aims of Bulgaria in a true light:

It may be that the Bulgarian diplomats will be soon summoned to give their opinion at the Peace Conference after the war. They must expound the theories at the foundation of the Bulgarian claims—claims already sufficiently consolidated by force of arms. They will discuss definite plans as to the future of Serbia and as to our relation to our neighbors. On these questions, especially on the question of Serbia, our veritable enemy, our diplomats must be instructed to be above all severe and inexorable. They must put aside all sentimentalism; every humanitarian consideration, and every softness of heart. The existence of a Serb state under whatsoever form that may be is equivalent to a prolongation of troubles in the Balkans. This state, which since its independence has not ceased to be a nest of disorder and dissensions, must be exterminated from the face of the earth. It is a superior necessity for humanity, and especially for ourselves and our allies. The words of Bismarck, pronounced on the night of 1-2 September, 1870, on the capitulation of Sedan, are appropriate in this case.

Alone, the brutality of the Chancellor in face of the solicitation of the French assured for Germany a peace of forty-three years. The relations between Germany and France were almost similar to those now between Bulgaria and Serbia. That is why it is incumbent upon our diplomats to apply the maxim of Bismarck.

No generosity, until after the conclusion of peace!

The *Cambana*, September 2, 1916, wrote:

Countries like Serbia and Rumania are destined to extermination.

The *Pester Lloyd*, on the 18th of August, 1916, had said the same thing.

The argument, then, that Bulgaria has gone into the war in order to liberate Macedonia, is an attempt to throw dust in the eyes of America. Officially the Bulgars have said: "That their future is with Prussia, because Prussian Kultur is healthy, French culture rotten and degenerate."

## THE CZECHO-SLOVAKS

**A**N interesting pamphlet by Lewis B. Namier on "The Czecho-Slovaks, an Oppressed Nationality" takes as its point of departure the reference in the Allies' reply to President Wilson to the liberation of these people from foreign domination.

This writer is at some pains to point out that the differences between these two branches of a single nation are really very slight. So far as language is concerned, he affirms that the differences between Czech and Slovak are smaller than those existing between the German language spoken in Vienna and that which is known as German in Munich and Dresden. Slovak is merely an archaic form of Czech.

The real difference between Czech and Slovak is neither racial nor linguistic; it is historic. While the Czechs of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, numbering six and a half millions at the present day, have fought for a thousand years against German aggression and suffered from German tyranny, the two and a half million Slovaks who live in northeastern Hungary have had their bitterest enemies in the Magyars.

At all the greatest moments of Czecho-Slovak history, says Mr. Namier, the two branches of the nation were one or at least tried to become one: It was only when crushed by their enemies that they became divided. Even united, they would hardly be a match for the Germans and Magyars. They know that liberty is not possible for them or cannot prove durable without the liberty of other sister nations and foremost of the Jugo-Slavs and Poles, but where they themselves hold the line they have decided to hold it with united forces. Wherever in the world the Czechs and Slovaks have created their own organizations the two groups have during this war acted together—in the United States, in South America, in Great Britain, France, and Russia. The eminent Czech statesman who now leads the Czecho-Slovak movement for independence, Professor Masaryk, is himself by birth a Slovak.

This is the only Slav nation that has survived in the very heart of Central Europe. In the revolutionary movement of 1848 the Czecho-Slovaks had hopes of help from the House of Hapsburg, but all these fair expectations were doomed to bitter disappointment. Later, in 1870, the Emperor Francis Joseph gave a promise to the Czechs that he would crown himself King of Bohemia, as

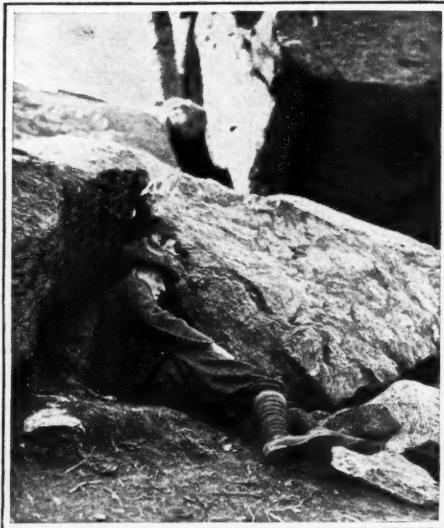
he was crowned King of Hungary in 1867, and thereby recognize the historic rights of the Czech nation, but this promise was never fulfilled.

As to the present attitude of the Czecho-Slovaks toward Austria this writer says:

When the series of Austro-Magyar intrigues against Serbia had begun, the Czechs tried to save the honor of the Hapsburg Monarchy by revealing the infamy of some of its servants. It was Professor Masaryk, the man now in the forefront of the Czech movement for liberation, who in 1909 took the lead in exposing the notorious Friedjung forgeries—in case of war these forgeries were to have served as Austria's excuse for attacking Serbia. Professor Masaryk showed up and branded their main author, Count Forgach, as a common *agent provocateur*, and Count Forgach never dared to defend himself by bringing an action against his accuser. Yet the same Count Forgach soon afterwards became Under-Secretary of the Austrian Foreign Office, and was one of those mainly responsible for the drafting of the ultimatum to Serbia in July, 1914! No one responsible for the policy of the Central Powers in that crisis can plead ignorance as to the character and policy of that man.

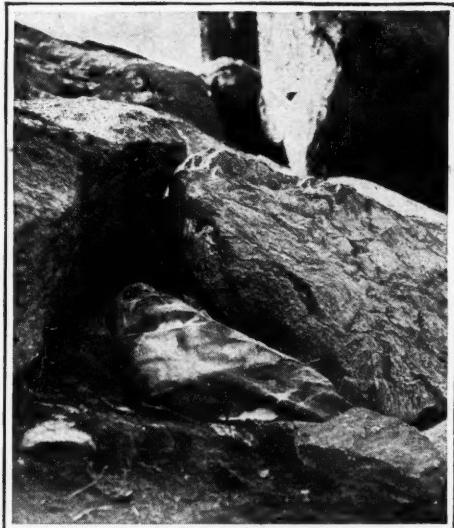
The Czechs had been prepared to work for a better Austria and to continue in it, even though promises given to them were regularly disregarded. Yet though wishing for the existence of Austria, if Austria was to be a real home for its nationalities, they were always equally determined to destroy it, should it choose to become a jail, with the Germans and Magyars for its jailers. Now Austria has become worse than a jail to the Czechs, worse even than a slave-driver. It has driven them not into slavery, but into fratricide. When Czech regiments were first marched against Russia and Serbia, all past bonds between Austria and the Czech nation were broken forever. There are words on which one does not go back, and there are facts which can never be undone. Not even centuries can erase memories of the war into which the Czecho-Slovaks have been driven, contrary to their will, under the command of their bitterest enemies—the Germans and the Magyars. Never again in history are the Czechs to find themselves in the position of mute victims driven into a death dishonorable for men, into a death of slaves fighting for the maintenance of slavery. The Hapsburgs have crossed the Rubicon on their way to Berlin; there can be no comity in the future between the Czechs and the Hapsburgs.

If attachment to Austria is the dominant feeling among the Czechs, why were not those whom the Czech nation had chosen for its spokesmen allowed to voice its feelings? Of all the belligerent countries Austria is the only one which has failed to convolve its Parliament, and it was repeatedly admitted that the reason why it was not possible to convolve Parliament was the fear lest the Czechs should speak out. Their true feelings were only too well known to the Austrian Government; one after another the Czech leaders were sent to prison or driven into exile.



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OBSERVER LYING AMONG ROCKS, SHOWING HOW PLAINLY DELINEATED IS HIS UNPROTECTED FORM



© Underwood &amp; Underwood

CAMOUFLAGED OBSERVER LYING AMONG ROCKS AND HARDLY DISCERNIBLE EVEN A FEW FEET AWAY

## CAMOUFLAGE "MADE IN AMERICA"

POSSIBLY it is not generally known that systematic efforts have been and are now being made in this country to train American soldiers in the comparatively new art of the camoufleur. Here, as in France, the first persons who saw the possibilities of this calling were artists and sculptors. A volunteer organization of nineteen men was in training in a studio in Greenwich Village, the so-called Latin Quarter of New York City, a year ago, under the leadership of Berry Faulkner, a New York artist, and Cherie Frey, a New York sculptor.

With General Pershing's call for camoufleurs came the services of Faulkner and Frey and their nineteen men were immediately accepted by Secretary Baker. Evarts Tracey, a New York architect with Plattsburg training, was appointed major, and soon a full company of camoufleurs was recruited, including many well-known illustrators. This company was attached provisionally to the 25th United States Engineers. Recently a camouflage class has been conducted under the auspices of the New York Board of Education. These volunteers spend two evenings each week camouflaging miniature ambulances, tanks, guns, and other battle-field objects to conform with the color scheme and topography of miniature landscapes. Map-drawing is also included

among the studios of these camoufleurs.

The field work in the vicinity of New York is illustrated by the accompanying pictures. They show the application of camouflage robes designed and painted and worn by the students to conform with such natural objects as trees and rocks. The robes are painted with special water-colors to agree with the surroundings where they are to be used, and by employing them the wearer may creep close up to an enemy position without being detected.

A writer in the *Scientific American*, to whom we are indebted for these facts, states the philosophy of camouflage in the following paragraphs:

The whole purpose of camouflage, of course, is to deceive the enemy. In fact, the strategy of modern warfare resolves itself into the problem of seeing what the enemy is doing while preventing him from seeing what you are doing. Unfortunately, the enemy is quite as adept at this game as we are, and the result is that a modern campaign is very much like a game of hide-and-seek with a penalty of death and destruction for the unsuccessful player.

Camouflage takes on many different dresses, but the end is always the same, namely, hiding from the enemy. One of the problems is the elimination of high lights in artillery, which is met by protective coloration and deceptive screens. The coloration is generally of the spotted variety, using such colors as are present in the surroundings. The screens are made of leaves and

shrubbery held in place by the strands of huge nets. Tanks are protected against enemy shell-fire by various color schemes, the one generally favored being a vivid combination of colors which blend into an indistinct mass when viewed from a distance. The helmets of the infantry must be protected by camouflage, for in their original state their highly polished surface reflects light rays and attracts enemy fire. So helmets are provided with canvas covers or sanded over or covered with powdered glass in order to break up the reflected rays. Weapons are sometimes

greased in order that they may not betray the infantry by reflected rays. Uniforms, ranging from the khaki of our men to the horizon blue of the French and the gray-green of the Germans, are designed to melt into the surrounding landscape over which a battle is fought, and this again is a matter of camouflage. Moving vehicles are protected by roads overhung with screens, so that prying enemy airmen cannot see them. Indeed, motor trucks and guns and horse-drawn carts are often covered over with leafy boughs and layers of hay to disguise them.

## REBUILDING THE SPANISH NAVY

WITH the navies of the belligerents occupying the stage in the world's great drama, little thought has been given to the small fleets of the neutrals which may make an entrance at any moment into the great struggle. Of these the most important and interesting is that of Spain, which has developed latterly in a quiet but effective fashion.

Of course, the war with the United States in 1898 gave a deadly blow to the Spanish Navy, and it was not until 1906 that the authorities determined to embark on an ambitious building program involving the construction of three heavily armored battleships of about 15,000 metric tons displacement (14,763 gross tons) and a speed of 19 knots, with turbine engines and water-tube boilers. The radius of action at economical speed was fixed at 5000 nautical miles, and the main armament was to be eight 12-inch guns with an auxiliary battery of 20 4-inch quick-firers. The contracts for these battleships were placed with a British syndicate with Spanish connections, to which was also given the contract for rebuilding and reorganizing the dockyards at Ferrol and Cartagena, which had lapsed into a state of inefficiency.

According to the *Engineer* (London), this work has been prosecuted vigorously, so that practically the entire program has been completed. The contract provided that no more than 75 per cent. of the executives and foremen at Ferrol and Cartagena were to be foreigners, the percentage being reduced to 50 per cent. two years after signing the contract. Of the workmen only 10 per cent. were to be foreigners. The *España*, first of the three battleships, was laid down at Ferrol in December, 1909, launched in February, 1912, and completed early in 1914. The *Alfonso XIII* was begun in 1910 and

completed in 1915, while the *Jaime I*, the last of the three, delayed by difficulty in obtaining her guns from the foreign manufacturers, is now in commission. These three ships, notwithstanding their modest displacement, really form a powerful division, being able to bring a collective broadside fire of 24 12-inch 50-caliber guns to bear, and all exceeded 20 knots on their trial trips. Likewise, three destroyers and twenty-four sea-going torpedo-boats were completed in the allotted time.

As this program developed, it did not satisfy the Spaniards, and in 1914 it was decided to expand the navy still farther by construction of two additional battleships, two cruisers, and six submarines at an estimated cost of some \$75,000,000. This program was later changed on account of the development of submarine attack during the war, and a bill sanctioned February 17, 1915, provided for four light cruisers, six destroyers (over 1000 tons), twenty-eight submarines, three gunboats, and eighteen armed coast-guard and fishery protective vessels capable of being employed in war time as mine-layers and sweepers. With the exception of the submarines and one light cruiser, all the foregoing are now under construction in Spanish yards. A few of the submarines which were ordered in foreign countries have been delivered, one from America and three from Italy. A submarine depot and salvage ship named the *Canguru* is being built for the Spanish Government at the Werf Conrad at Haarlem, Holland, its design being based on the German submarine tender *Vulkan*. It is capable of raising from 1000 to 1300 tons between its double hulls.

The authority in the *Engineer* states that at the present time the Spanish shipbuilding industry, in spite of the shortage of material, is undergoing remarkable development, and

in addition to warship construction, a considerable number of merchant vessels is being built at Cadiz, Cartagena, and Bilbao. The

strength of the Spanish navy, including vessels under construction, is shown in the following table:

BATTLESHIPS.	Displacement. Tons.	Speed. Knots.	Max. Armor. In.	Armament.
<i>España</i> .....				{ 8 12-in.
<i>Alfonso XIII</i> .....	15,700	20	10	{ 20 4-in.
<i>Jaime I</i> .....				{ No tor. tubes
<sup>1</sup> <i>Pelayo</i> .....	9,890	15	16	{ 2 12.6-in.
				{ 2 11-in..
				{ 9 5.5-in.
				{ 3 tor. tubes
CRUISERS.				
<i>Princess de Asturias</i> .....				{ 2 9.4-in.
<i>Cataluña</i> .....	7,550	18	12	{ 8 5.5-in.
<i>Reina Victoria Eugenia</i> .....				{ No tubes
"B".....	5,600	26	3	{ 9 6-in.
"C".....				{ 2 tor. tubes
"D".....				
<i>Reina Regente</i> .....	5,900	19½	3¼	10 5.9-in.
<i>Estramadura</i> .....	2,130	19	1¼	8 4-in.
<i>Rio de la Plata</i> .....	1,950	19½	1¼	{ 4 4.1-in.
				{ 2 5.5-in.

Destroyers—Six new, displacement over 1000 tons; also *Bustamente*, *Villamil*, *Cadars*, 380 tons, 28 knots, 2 torpedo tubes; *Audaz*, *Osado*, *Prosperina*, *Terror*, 430 tons, 28-30 knots, 2 tubes.

Torpedo Boats—Nos. 1-42 (first 24 completed), 180 tons, 29-31 knots, 3 torpedo tubes.

Submarines—*Isaac Peral*, displacement 500/685 tons, speeds 15½-10½ knots, 1 gun and 4 torpedo tubes; *Monturiol*, *Garcia*, A-3, displacement 260/382 tons, speeds 13-8.5 knots, 2 tubes.

Also 14 gunboats (7 modern), fishery cruisers, etc.

<sup>1</sup>Very old and probably ineffective. There is also an old cruiser *Emperador Carlos V*. used for harbor service and said to be dismantled.

## THE UKRAINE AS GERMANY'S ALLY

WRITING in the *Deutsche Revue* for April, Herr Conrad Bornhak discusses the problem of the Ukraine. Though the boundaries of the new Ukraine are still uncertain, the Rada has declared that, according to the nationality principle, the state must include the Little and South Russian Governments (the latter without the Crimea and Bessarabia), also Podolia and Volhynia from West Russia and Cholm from Congress Poland. To some extent the boundaries have been defined by the Peace of Brest-Litovsk, and Cholm has been accorded to the Ukraine. The question of Cholm, however, makes it extremely difficult.

The so-called Austrian solution of the Polish question, according to which the whole of Galicia is united with the coming new Polish state, is, of course, very agreeable to Germany, for it is anticipated that the Ukrainers will become the natural allies of Germany against Poland, who remains unfriendly towards Germany.

It is otherwise with the relations of the

Ukraine to Austria. Here everything is uncertain, much depending on the direction of Austrian policy. Hitherto the Austrian Ruthenians have been in a better position than the Russian Ukrainers, and have been loyal to Austria as far as Russian Pan-Slavism permitted. At present the relations are quite reversed, and Austria will find herself menaced by a Ukrainian Irredentā if she should not feel inclined to satisfy the national claims of the Ruthenians. A new autocracy is certain to follow Russian anarchy. Russia will then not willingly let go the richest part of her Empire, and will always seek to subjugate afresh the Ukraine. If the remaining parts of Russia hold together or are again brought together, the Ukraine will be in an extraordinarily unfavorable geographical position. Poland will become the ally of Russia, and the Ukraine will only be able to assert itself in conjunction with the Central Powers. It will become the best ally of Germany, and it may be of Austria also.

# THE FUTURE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

UNDoubtedly the intense desire of the American people to conduct the war on high grounds of right and justice in an unselfish spirit is destined to have a profound effect not only upon the religious life of the country, but upon the church organizations through which religious conviction and practical effort have heretofore been so largely expressed. Churches of all denominations have stood behind all the activities of the war, and especially have they promoted the different kinds of relief work and of social work for soldiers. Among the most prominent of the supporters of all these phases of war-time activity has been Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who has spoken in the Y. M. C. A. huts of many camps and cantonments, while contributing to Red Cross and other relief agencies upon a munificent scale. Mr. Rockefeller is one of the best-known laymen of the Baptist Church. A few weeks ago he wrote for the *Saturday Evening Post* an article upon "The Christian Church: What of Its Future?", which has been much reprinted and commented upon. Mr. Rockefeller would subordinate denominational distinctions and emphasize everything that could bring the churches together upon a broad, practical platform.

#### MR. ROCKEFELLER'S VISION

Among the significant paragraphs in Mr. Rockefeller's article are those which picture a "reborn church":

It would be called the Church of the Living God.

*Its terms of admission would be love for God, as He is revealed in Christ and His Living spirit, and the vital translation of this love into a Christ-like life.*

Its atmosphere would be one of warmth, freedom, and joy, so sympathetically and distinctly manifest as to attract and win into its fellowship the followers of the Religion of the Inarticulate.

It would pronounce ordinance, ritual, creed, all non-essential for admission into the kingdom of God or His Church.

A life, not a creed, would be its test; what a man does, not what he professes; what he is, not what he has.

Its object would be to promote applied religion, not theoretical religion. This would involve its sympathetic interest in all of the great problems of human life; in social and moral problems, those of industry and business, the civic and edu-



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JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR., WHOSE VISION OF THE CHURCH OF THE FUTURE HAS STIMULATED NATION-WIDE INTEREST

cational problems; in all such as touch the life of man.

As its first concern, it would encourage Christian living seven days a week, fifty-two weeks in the year, rather than speculation about the hereafter.

It would be the church of all the people, of everyone who is fighting sin and trying to establish righteousness; the church of the rich and the poor, the wise and the ignorant, the high and the low—a true democracy.

Its ministers would be trained not only in the seminary, but quite as much in life, with the supreme emphasis on life. For it would be an important part of the preparation of each that he should spend months, years possibly, working with his hands in the fields or the shop, doing business in the store or the office, so that he might not have merely a laboratory acquaintance with the problems of human life, but the practical knowledge which alone comes from actual experience and contact with them.

Yes, the ministry of this church would live in vital touch with humanity; it would understand and sympathize with human difficulties, and would exert its influence as much in living as in preaching.

Would that I had the power to bring to your minds the vision as it unfolds before me!

I see all denominational emphasis set aside.

I see coöperation, not competition.

In the large cities I see great religious centers, wisely located, adequately equipped, strongly supported, and inspiring their members to participation in all community matters.

In small places, instead of half a dozen dying churches, competing with each other, I see one or two strong churches, uniting the Christian life of the town; great economy in plant, in money, in service, in leadership; money enough saved in this way to support adequately home and foreign missions.

I see the church moulding the thought of the world as it has never done before, leading in all great movements as it should.

I see it literally establishing the Kingdom of God on earth.

Shall this vision be realized? The future of the Christian Church depends on the answer Christian men and women give to that question.

#### "SUBORDINATION OF FORM TO SPIRIT"

In these concluding sentences Mr. Rockefeller sums up the whole philosophy and justification of his plea:

Let ordinance, creed, ritual, form, biblical interpretation, theology, all be used to enrich worship, or to bring the believer into a fuller understanding of Him whom we worship, as each individual or separate church may find them helpful toward that end. But God forbid that they should ever, any of them, divert the attention from or be regarded as a substitute for that personal, spiritual relation between the soul and its God which is the essence of true religion.

God forbid that they should ever, any of them, be allowed to cause divisions among the followers of Christ or be set up as barriers at the door of any branch of the Church of the Living God.

What the world craves to-day is a more spiritual and less formal religion. To the man or woman facing death, great conflict, the big problems of human life, the forms of religion are a hollow mockery, the spirit an impregnable fortress.

I plead not for a modification of form, but for its subordination to the spirit; not for the abolishing of ordinances, but for their voluntary rather than obligatory observance; not that these solemn rites should be set aside, but that they should be entered into as a sacred privilege, an act of loving consecration, rather than submitted to as an enforceable law. So and so only will their real beauty and meaning be understood and their true purpose realized.

As we face, then, the world's need of great spiritual leadership, that humanity may be brought into vital, daily relationship with a living God, and that all the forces of righteousness may be united in an eternal warfare against the forces of evil, we ask again the question—"What of the future of the Christian Church?" This is the answer:

If the various divisions of the Church, as it is organized to-day catch the vision, have the breadth, the tolerance, the courage, and, setting aside all non-essentials, all barriers, will stand

upon the bedrock principles of God's love and Christ's living spirit, "not satisfied until the Church is the Church of all good men and women, until all good thoughts and deeds are laid at the feet of the Lord of all good life," the Church of the Living God will come into being, ushering in a new era of Christian unity.

What an opportunity! What a privilege! What a duty! In God's name I ask, does any one dare let it pass?

#### Dr. Washington Gladden's Hearty Endorsement

Mr. Rockefeller's article was reprinted in the *Christian Work*, of New York, which conducted a discussion of the subject in successive weekly issues, to which a group of eminent clergymen of various denominations contributed. One member of this group was Dr. Washington Gladden, of Columbus, Ohio, former moderator of the National Congregational Council, who, shortly before his death, wrote this cordial commendation of the proposed church:

I have read Mr. Rockefeller's contribution about the Future of the Church, and I heartily accept the whole of it. I am ready to join Mr. Rockefeller's church, to-day, without waiting for any. Indeed, I have always been a member of it, and could not be required to change a sentence of my creed, to qualify for full and regular membership.

This layman who speaks with the voice of a prophet is justified in saying, "The Church must have a new birth and be reorganized to meet this marvelous opportunity and great human need." The outline of the organization is here. It is simple, of course. It must be. It is as much simpler than the simplest of existing ecclesiasticisms as Christ's summary of the law is simpler than the Levitical code and the Talmud.

"It would be called *The Church of the Living God*." The name is descriptive, comprehensive, adequate. It implies that there is but one church, and that every man owes to that his sole and supreme allegiance. It assumes therefore the unity of humanity, the great assumption of Saint Paul. It proclaims that there are no aliens nor foreigners. As Dr. Lynch points out, it makes room for Jews also. And in the name of heaven, why not? Are not they sons of the Living God? Why should they not be frankly included in our fellowship?

"Its terms of admission would be love for God, as He is revealed in Christ and His living spirit, and the vital translation of this love into a Christlike life."

Here again, as the editor shows, no exclusions are set up; Jews and Gentiles can come in on these terms. Nobody doubts that a Jew can possess the spirit of Jesus, and that it is the one thing essential to Christian fellowship.

It is implied in this statement that the bond of this union is love—supreme love for God, and equal love for our brother man. By love we mean no mere sentimental attachment, but goodwill or friendship. Toward men it expresses

itself in the spirit of brotherhood, in the wish to share the good of life with our fellow men. It is not supposed that all of us will realize this ideal perfectly in our human relationships, but

it is recognized and confessed as the ideal, and we hold it before us as the goal which we mean to reach. This is the test of our lives; we succeed or fail by this standard.

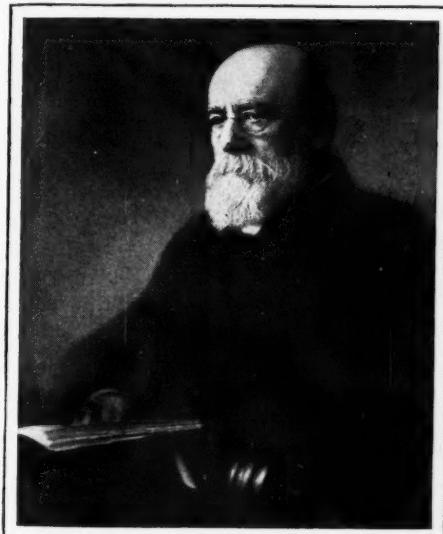
## WASHINGTON GLADDEN: PREACHER AND PIONEER THINKER

**D**R. WASHINGTON GLADDEN, who died at Columbus, Ohio, on July 2, at the age of eighty-two, had for many years held a place of leadership in religious thinking and in socio-economic reform. He had preached from one pulpit for the third of a century, but through books, magazine articles, and lectures he had reached an audience scattered throughout the English-speaking world. Forty years ago he was actively agitating for the federation of Christian churches—a project in which practically all the religious leaders of our day are now enlisted, although when Dr. Gladden first raised his voice on its behalf it was as one crying in the wilderness. He was one of the first religious leaders of his time to demand the straightforward application of Christian principles to modern social conditions. It fell to his lot to take a foremost part in the interpretation of the Bible in the light of modern scholarship and also in formulating the doctrine of evolution in terms of religious thought.

Among the tributes paid to Dr. Gladden since his death there have been references to the remarkable range of his sympathies and friendships. It is remarked, for instance, that he was a doctor of laws of the University of Wisconsin, a great State university, and of the University of Notre Dame, a Roman Catholic institution. He had taken part in the settlement of many important labor disputes, including the anthracite coal strike in 1902. For two years he had served as councilman of the city of Columbus.

When, in the latter years of his life, Dr. Gladden's right hand was disabled, he learned to write with his left and was busily at work almost to the very end. An editorial from his pen appears in the issue of the *Christian Work* (New York) for July 13th. It is on the subject of "The War and Its Lessons" and is chiefly devoted to what Dr. Gladden regarded as our national sin of wastefulness. In this editorial he said:

The new international relations which we have accepted force us to consider the fact that the problem of food supply is not an individual prob-



Baker Art Gallery, Columbus, O.

DR. WASHINGTON GLADDEN, FOR FIFTY YEARS A VITAL FORCE IN AMERICAN RELIGIOUS THINKING

lem, or a family problem, or a national problem, but a world problem, and that the welfare and subsistence of many other people are dependent today on the thrift and economy of the American people.

The world's supply has been considerably shortened by the bad harvests of the last two or three years, and without pinching economies there will not be enough food for all the people. It is plain under these circumstances the national waste must cease. We cannot permit ourselves our customary profusion of expenditures when want is staring in at the homes of so many of the children of men.

The great nations with which our nation is linked—the nations which are standing with us in defense of what we believe to be the fundamental principles of free government—are in grave danger of famine, and it is only by carefully guarding and liberally sharing with them the bounty of the earth that we can save them from starvation. And it is equally probable that the destruction of our Allies would greatly imperil this nation; we can save ourselves only by saving them. And the immediate means of saving ourselves and them is the enforcement of a rigid economy in the use of food. This is the first practical lesson which the war is enforcing. We ought to have learned it long ago, in a school less severe; but we have not yet learned it, and so we are getting it hammered in.

## DR. J. H. JOWETT'S RETURN TO LONDON

THE return to England of Dr. J. H. Jowett, after seven years' residence in the United States, and the beginning of his ministry at Westminster Chapel, London, are matters of great significance not only to the Nonconformists of Great Britain, but to the wider public by whom Dr. Jowett has long been recognized as an intellectual and moral leader. A recent issue of the *British Weekly* (London) gives an extended account of Dr. Jowett's first preaching service at Westminster Chapel, at which Premier Lloyd George, his wife, and daughter were present. The clergyman's personal statement on that occasion has so much of special interest to American readers that we quote it here:

"I have come home," he said, "in obedience to the call of duty, which for me is the call of God. I feel it a happy coincidence that in obeying this call I have returned to my own countrymen, to minister at a time when every form of service is a privilege, and when one can only find satisfaction in perfect consecration to the common good. I have come here, and shall remain," he continued, "to preach the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Gospel of holiness and grace, and to proclaim the imperative conditions on which, as I believe, the kingdom of God can be established in our land. I know I come laden with the affectionate good-will of my American friends, and I feel I am personally all the richer for having spent seven years in America. Two or three days ago I received a letter from President Wilson, and although the message is of personal and private character affecting the service I tried to render in New York, there is one passage which I think has a larger significance. President Wilson wrote:

"While I am deeply sorry for your leaving America, I am glad you will take away an intimate knowledge of our people which will enable you to interpret them to those who have not always understood them on the other side of the water. One of the most difficult things I have attempted is to convince foreign ministers and foreign peoples that the purposes and ideals of the people of the United States are unselfish and altruistic. I am sure you are convinced of that fact, as I am, and my great pleasure in expressing such purposes has been derived from the confidence that I was really and truly speaking for my people."

Dr. Jowett further expressed the hope that it would be his "continual aspiration

that his church and its ministry might be one of the innumerable bonds which would unite the British and American peoples in the enlightened confidence of an enduring fraternity."

On this occasion Dr. Jowett preached a war sermon on the "Dynamics of Endurance." The report in the *British Weekly* says:

There were loud murmurs of sympathy when Dr. Jowett referred to the path of liberty which led, in the eighteenth century, from Boston to Lexington and Concord. He spoke with uplifting eloquence of Lincoln and Cromwell. "Our fathers trusted in Thee and Thou didst deliver them. The Lord of Hosts is with us"—the pronoun spoken with emphasis—"the God of Jacob is our refuge."

"The most searching discipline of life," said the preacher, "is never reached until things begin to be terribly slow. Slowness is one of the most exacting tests of character. We want to 'get there,' we want to reap the harvest to-day. When the snow begins to fall, and the rain comes down in a deluge, and all the roads of progress become muddy, we are apt to lose heart. When the funeral train arrives instead of the wedding chariot, when we sigh, 'How long, O Lord, how long?' then we have

reached life's most exacting season.

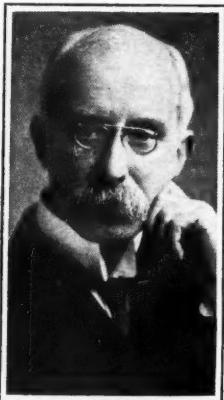
"Can we endure slowness, which is the most burdensome part of hardness? Can we, if need be, go slow and keep on going? Can we walk and not faint? It is all a question of reserves? If, like the wise virgins, we take oil in our lamps, then they will be found burning even at midnight."

"We have reached the slow days of this campaign and are passing through an exacting and most burdensome stage."

"Strength and moral energy," Dr. Jowett said, "are to be found in righteous anger. There is a sputtering and spluttering anger which is little better than fireworks, a petty outburst rather than a splendid passion. There is another anger which burns like radium. 'Who is made to stumble, and I burn not?'

Dr. Jowett feels that the times call for righteous wrath, and not for easy tolerance. Holy fear helps to maintain moral energy he said. In the "fear" of Scripture there is never the least suggestion of flight, but rather of moral recoil from evil. When we see anything morally loathsome we fear it as we fear a foul contagion.

In closing, Dr. Jowett showed that the central spring of all endurance is the intimate fellowship of the living God. "He showed me a pure river of the water of vitality."



DR. J. H. JOWETT

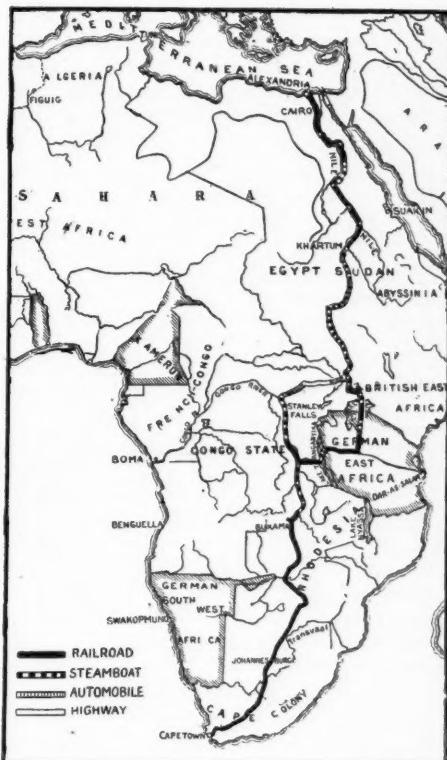
## THE CAPE-TO-CAIRO RAILWAY UP TO DATE

**I**N a region of equatorial Africa which, a decade ago, was almost as sparsely and sketchily known to geographers as it is to-day to the makers of certain American atlases dated 1918 on their title-pages, there is a little town called Bukama. It is a port on the far upper reaches of the Congo River, and lies about 150 miles due west of Lake Tanganyika.

Writing in *La Nature* (Paris), M. Charles Rabot, the well-known editor of *La Géographie*, happily describes Bukama as the "turn-table" in the vast system of railways and steamboat lines which now lets the light of civilization into the erstwhile Dark Continent. From this point the traveler may follow the Congo River by rail and steamer down to its mouth at Boma, on the Atlantic coast. Or he may travel east, instead of west, again by steam routes, all the way to Dar-es-Salam, on the shores of the Indian Ocean. Or he may journey far south, by continuous steam railway, to Cape Town. Or, lastly, he may make the longest journey of all, northward to Cairo. In this case, only, will it be necessary to cover part of the ground by automobile, and another part by the old-fashioned modes of travel, on foot or by palanquin, which served the needs of Stanley and Livingstone.

There are two routes between the Belgian Congo and the Egyptian railway and steamboat system. If the eastern, by way of Lake Victoria, be chosen, then the distance over which modern methods of travel are not available amounts to only 150 miles—the stretch between Nimule and Rejaf—which may be walked in from five to eight days. This is the last remaining hiatus, the one still missing link, in the great continental chain of communication of which Cecil Rhodes dreamed. The Cape-to-Cairo combination of railways, steamboat channels, and motor-routes is on the very verge of completion.

The war has accelerated the progress of its construction, says M. Rabot; for, in order to facilitate military operations against German East Africa, the Belgian line from Kabalo to Albertville, connecting the River Congo and Lake Tanganyika, was rushed to completion in 1915, while the Katanga Railway, which carries the railway system of British South Africa northward into Belgian



THE CAPE-TO-CAIRO ROUTE; SHOWING PRESENT STAGE OF RAILWAY COMPLETION

territory, was extended 150 miles after the outbreak of hostilities, and on May 22, 1918, reached its natural terminus at Bukama, the head of steam navigation on the upper Congo.

The accompanying map shows at a glance the present state of the system. The picture becomes more impressive when some figures are quoted. The length of the Cape-to-Cairo route is about 11,000 kilometers (upwards of 6800 miles). This is more than twice the length of the Canadian transcontinental route from St. John to Vancouver, and about one-fourth greater than the length of the Trans-Siberian (8528 kilometers) from Moscow to Vladivostok. The new highway will be the longest railway line in the world. At the present time the journey from Cairo to Cape Town can be made in from fifty-one to sixty-two days.

On account of its great length the new

route will hardly be used for carrying freight the whole distance from one end of the continent to the other, with the exception of such precious commodities as gold and diamonds. Heavy passenger traffic is, however, expected; especially as tourists are likely to be attracted thither in great numbers after the war. Above all, the new line is important in relation to adjacent transportation routes.

The Cape-to-Cairo Railway marks out the backbone of the future network of African railways and several lateral roads already branch from this main highway, while work has been begun on still others. These lines are, from north to south:

1. The Atbara-Port Said line, which covers in one day the distance from the Nile Valley to the Red Sea.

2. The line from Khartum to El Obeid, capi-

tal of Kordofan, running in the direction of Lake Chad and destined eventually to connect with an English line from Nigeria. The Nigerian railway is already in operation as far as Kano. The construction of the connecting line has been urgently recommended by Major Tilho as well as by the English authorities.

3. The Uganda Railway, from Victoria Nyanza to Mombasa, on the Indian Ocean, a trip of two days.

4. The "Tanganyikabahn" (Tanganyika Railway) from Dar-es-Salam to Kigoma. By steamer across Lake Tanganyika it connects with the Belgian line from Albertville to Kabalo, which in turn, is connected by the Congo River steamers and railways with Leopoldville, whence a railway runs down to Matadi. The time of transit from Kabalo to Leopoldville is twenty-seven days. This is the only trans-African railway system yet completed. In 1917, Colonel Viala, of the French Army, crossed the continent by this route in thirty-five days; a "record" up to date.

5. Bulawayo to Beira.

## GERMANY'S DREAM OF EMPIRE IN AFRICA

**W**HEN war came to Europe four years ago it spread rapidly to the greater part of the continent of Africa. One after another the German colonies in the Dark Continent—Togoland, Kamerun, German Southwest Africa, and German East Africa—were invaded and occupied.

Last and most difficult was the task of subduing German East Africa, culminating in 1916 in a simultaneous invasion from four directions. A Belgian colonial army coöperated from the Congo Free State on the west, and a Portuguese army from Portuguese East Africa on the south; but the principal invading armies were British, one coming from Rhodesia, to the southwest, and an even larger one from British East Africa, to the northeast.

This main British invasion of German East Africa was under the command of General Jan Christiaan Smuts, who in the previous year had led a victorious army from the Union of South Africa through the desert wastes of the lower half of German Southwest Africa.

In the July number of the *Century Magazine*, General Smuts himself tells the story of the conquest of German East Africa against almost insurmountable obstacles placed in the path by Nature. He tells also of Germany's plan to establish a great Central African Empire, comprising not only her own colonies before the war, but also

English, French, Belgian, and Portuguese possessions.

General Smuts presents a detailed explanation of topographical conditions in Central Africa, and then sums it up in the following words:

It is impossible for those unacquainted with German East Africa to realize the physical, transport and supply difficulties of an advance over this magnificent, but mountainous country, with a great rainfall and wide, unbridged rivers in the regions of the mountains, and insufficient surface water on the plains for the needs of an army; with magnificent primeval forest everywhere, pathless, trackless, except for the spoor of the elephant or the narrow footpaths of the natives. The malaria mosquito is everywhere except on the higher plateaus; everywhere the belts are infested with the deadly tsetse fly, which makes an end of all animal transport; and almost everywhere the ground is rich black or red cotton soil, which any transport converts into mud in the rain or dust in the drought. Everywhere the fierce heat of equatorial Africa, accompanied by a wild luxuriance of parasitic life, breeds tropical diseases in the unacclimatized whites.

These conditions make life for the white man in that country sufficiently trying. If in addition he has to perform hard work and make long marches on short rations, the trial becomes very severe; if, above all, huge masses of men and material have to be moved over hundreds of miles in a great military expedition against a mobile and alert foe, then the strain becomes almost unendurable.

From March, 1916, to December, 1917,

the relentless pursuit of the Allies was maintained, until the last remnants of the enemy's forces had evacuated German East Africa and scattered in a neighboring wilderness.

In economic value the region ranks very high, although development is retarded by animal and human diseases. But—declares General Smuts—

The time is not far distant when science will have overcome these drawbacks, and when Central and East Africa will have become one of the most productive and valuable parts of the tropics. But until science solves the problems of tropical disease, East and Central Africa must not be looked upon as an area for white colonization. Perhaps they will never be a white man's country in any real sense. In those huge territories the white man's task will probably be largely confined to that of administrator, teacher, expert, manager, or overseer of the large Negro populations, whose progressive civilization will be more suitably promoted in connection with the industrial development of the land.

The former Boer leader pays a tribute to the British colonial system by comparing it with the German. White colonists, with small farms, were conspicuously absent in German East Africa.

Instead, tracts of country were granted to companies, syndicates, or men with large capital, on conditions that plantations of tropical products would be cultivated. The planters were supplied with native labor under a government system which compelled the natives to work for the planters for a certain very small wage during part of every year; and as labor was very plentiful, with seven and a half millions of natives, the future for the capitalist syndicates seemed rosy enough. No wonder that under this *corvée* system East Africa and the Kamerun were rapidly developing into very valuable tropical assets, from which in time the German Empire would have derived much of the tropical raw material for its industries.

German colonial aims, in short, "are really not colonial but are entirely dominated by far-reaching conceptions of world policies. Not colonies, but military power and strategic positions for exercising world power in future, are her real aims."

General Smuts proceeds to quote from recent writings of Berlin statesmen to show the Pan-German hope not only for the recovery of African possessions but for a vast enlargement of that empire. Professor Delbrück, for example, is quoted as declaring that: "If our victory is great enough, we can hope to unite under our hand the whole of Central Africa," from the Sahara on the north to the Union of South Africa on the



GEN. JAN CHRISTIAAN SMUTS, CONQUEROR OF GERMAN EAST AFRICA

south. These territories, says the German statesman, are "rich in natural treasures, rich in possibilities of trade, and rich in men who can work and also be used in war."

More than one German writer quoted by General Smuts refers to the next great war. One of these is Franz Kolbe, who sees the Suez Canal blocked by the Turks and British shipping forced to pass a fortified west coast of German Central Africa. Emil Zimmermann is quoted as affirming that "German Africa will make us a world power by enabling us to exert a decisive influence upon the world political decisions of our enemies and of other powers."

General Smuts' article in the *Century* (which is well worth reading in its entirety) ends with a glowing tribute to British colonial administration. The reader should remember that Smuts was born in South Africa, was graduated from Cambridge University, and led a Boer army against the British seventeen years ago. Yet he says:

The British Empire . . . has never had any military ambitions apart from the measure of sea-power essential to its continued existence. In Africa it has never militarized the natives, has always opposed any such policy, and has tended to study the natives' interests and regard their point of view with special favor, often to the no

small disappointment of individual white settlers. Indeed, no impartial person can deny that, so far from exploiting the natives either for military or industrial purposes, British policy has on the whole, over a very long stretch of years, had a tender regard for native interests, and on the whole its results have been beneficial to the natives in their gradual civilization. In shaping

this wise policy British statesmen have had a very long and wide African experience to guide them, and in consequence they have avoided the very dangerous and dubious policies which the German new-comers have set in motion. Among these not the least dangerous is to regard the native primarily as raw material to be manufactured into military power and world power.

## PAN-GERMANISM IN AMERICA

THE network of German propaganda in the United States before and since the war is shown in its myriad ramifications by a Frenchman, Paul Darcy, in *Le Correspondant* (Paris). His main object, he remarks, is to demonstrate how the German Government in time of perfect peace abused the hospitality of a friendly, unsuspecting nation; aimed to create a state within a state, one hostile and alien to the American Republic. His statements carry weight, based as they are upon authenticated facts. His formidable array of evidence is positively startling.

Of all the European nations, he observes, Germany has furnished the greatest number of emigrants, particularly in the 18th and 19th centuries. The two Americas and Russia have shared the greatest number of this new type of invaders. But the United States seems to have been their Promised Land, for a fifth of its population is of German origin. The cordial welcome they received sprang from the boundless confidence of the Americans in their powers of assimilation. "In one or two generations"—Roosevelt remarked in 1908—"the emigrants are assimilated and think as we do." And yet, ten years prior to that date a formidable plot was being silently hatched by the Kaiser's diplomats without arousing the slightest distrust in this country. For had not the friendliest relations always subsisted between Berlin and Washington? Did not the Kaiser show an ever-increasing friendliness to the United States?

"The Pan-Germanist Society" (*All-deutscher Verband*) and the "League for Deutschum Abroad" (*Verein für das Deutschum im Ausland*) are the groups which at once arrest attention; they are in a way the staffs of all the other leagues. The famous "National German-American Association" is one of the greatest creations of the latter. Organized in 1901 by Dr. Hexamer, it rapidly grew formidable, counted more than 2,000,000 members, while its budget equaled that of a small

state. The German-American organization, then, was but a branch of the international Pan-Germanist organization controlled by the German Government.

The revolutions of 1830 and '48 caused an emigration of German Liberals to the United States as well as of a species new in this country—German intellectuals, who strove to develop, or at least conserve, the germs of "Kultur" introduced by them.

But it was the war of 1870 that gave the definitive impulse. Before that momentous date, invertebrate Germany exerted no sort of influence. Thenceforth, unified, Prussianized, organized, she became a powerful center of attraction, and German emigrants the world over turned their eyes to the Fatherland.

A host of German professors, teachers, clergymen spread over the United States and aroused the spirit of *Deutschum*. It is the societies of religious propaganda that for fifty years before 1870 occupy the foreground. And then the University Leagues, torpid up to that time, take the lead. The war of 1870 in intensifying German patriotism, created a "sacred union." All these leagues, lay and religious, gradually united after Sedan, have prospered rapidly.

The manifestations of German patriotism in the United States did not pass unnoticed in Berlin. It was promptly utilized to counterbalance the momentous movement slowly ripening at the close of the 19th century—the increasing coolness of the traditional Anglo-German friendship.

As for the German societies, their number exceeded 6000; of all possible varieties—religious, charitable, educational. The most important of the Pan-Germanist leagues (belonging to the economic group) is the "German-American Economic Society," founded in 1913 by the noted Herr Ballin, head of the Hamburg-American line, and a favorite confidant of the Kaiser.

Such was the organization discreetly managed and advanced under the most inoffensive guise. The aim was: first, to Germanize the German-Americans and render the native masses as favorable to Germany as possible. Second, to maneuver so that the American Government should second the aims of Germany, this to be accomplished by either electoral threats or by movements of public opinion invented for the purpose. In normal times the German-Americans were to vote as they pleased, but in case of a crisis, if *Deutschum* was menaced by the party in power, the word of command would be given; the German-Americans would form a unit (*bloc*) against the common enemy.

## A GERMAN SOCIALIST PROPHET

THAT Friedrich Engels, the lifelong friend of Marx, and the editor after the Socialist leader's death of his masterwork, "Capital," had an almost prophetic pre- vision of many of the aspects of the present war, is shown by Ivanhoe Bonomi in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome). He notes that in a little work published by Engels in Berlin in 1859, entitled "The Rhine and the Po," the latter fully recognized, even at that time, the likelihood of a German attack through Belgium, in case of a war between the two nations. He regarded this as the especially weak point of the French military position, and he traced the route that a German army should take after traversing Belgium.

Of course, Engels admits that Belgium is neutral territory; but he insists that history has repeatedly taught the weakness of any such restraints under the pressure of military necessity. "Then a treaty of neutrality is merely a sheet of paper, and in no case can France be able to depend upon it so securely as to see in Belgium, from a military viewpoint, an impassable gulf between herself and Germany."

Once the Germans had passed through Belgium, they would be able to thrust themselves between Paris and the French army, which would be on the Meuse, or on the Rhine. This task had, indeed, been made more difficult by the fortifications around Paris than it would have been before they were erected, but Engels forecasts the course of the campaign almost exactly as it was realized in 1914. "The French northern army, in order to await reinforcement by the other armies, would make a stand either behind the Aisne, in secure communication with Paris, or at the worst, behind the Marne, with its left wing resting on Paris, and in a good offensive position."

Many years later, in 1893, Engels published in the Berlin newspaper *Vorwärts*, a series of articles entitled "Can Europe Disarm?" His central idea was that Germany's interests would be served by proposing a progressive reduction of the number of recruits annually called to the colors. He sought to show, in the first place, that if all the armaments were reduced in equal proportion, their relative strength would remain practically unchanged. France would always have fewer soldiers than Germany, and the latter country, having an abundance

of officers, could organize, if mobilization should become necessary, a number of new formations which would already have been quietly trained, many more than there would be in any other country.

As to Russia, she might have many millions of soldiers, but it would be very difficult for her to find trained officers. The special training, which is the essential element of victory, would still be with Germany. "What," wrote Engels, "would be the fate of a Russian mobilization if lying and pilfering were habitual with her functionaries? If she lost a few battles the theater of the war would quickly be transferred from the Vistula to the Dvina, and the Dnieper. Behind the German army, under its fostering care, there would be formed an army of Polish allies, and it would constitute a just punishment for Russia, if for her own proper security she should be forced to reconstitute a strong Poland."

Having thus convinced himself that the proposal for disarmament did not embrace any dangers for Germany, Engels proceeded to state certain special advantages that would result for her from it. He freely admitted that Germany was not liked, and that the Pan-German propaganda was arousing the suspicions and the antipathies of her neighbors. "Now," he continues, "an end would be put to all this if Germany should decide to propose a disarmament. She would thus present herself as a friend of peace in a way that would admit of no doubt. She would show that she could be a pioneer in the policy of disarmament, just as she had been the leader in the policy of military development. Suspicion would be changed to confidence, and dislike to sympathy. The entire peoples of Europe and America would be on the side of Germany."

The views of the German Socialists regarding Alsace-Lorraine, as embodied in a paper published in 1896, after Engels' death, also merit attention. For him the annexation had both a good and a bad side. It gave Germany a great strategical advantage, but it created the grave danger of throwing France into the arms of Russia. The German Socialists were critics and opponents of annexation, because it caused France to support Russia's ambition to acquire Constantinople, in the belief that Russia would in turn help France to regain her lost provinces.

## THE AMERICAN NEGRO AS A FIGHTING MAN



COLORS PRESENTED TO THE NEW YORK NEGRO REGIMENT, "THE BUFFALOES," BY THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB

**W**RITING of the future of the American negro, William Dean Howells said that he had permitted himself the "imaginative prophecy that the hostilities and prejudices which had so long constrained his race were destined to vanish in the arts; that these were to be the final proof that God had made of one blood all nations of men."

Now the great war promises to accomplish that which he had imagined as the result of the slow accretion of time, in the short space of a few years.

It cannot be gainsaid that the negro comes into his own on the battlefield. The verdict of the white men who have trained and instructed the colored troops is that the American negro makes as efficient and as brave a soldier as any nation could demand. He has practically all the assets of a good soldier, tractability, amenity to discipline, pride in his uniform, child-like faith in the justice of his cause, and unquestioned physical courage.

Colonel James A. Moss, of the 367th (colored) Infantry, 92d Division, writes in the *Southern Workman* of his satisfaction

with the negro soldier in peace and in war, in garrison and in field.

I commanded colored troops in the Cuban campaign and in the Philippine campaign, having had some of them killed and wounded by my side. At no time did they ever falter at the command to advance, nor hesitate at the command to charge.

I am glad I am to command colored soldiers in this, my third campaign—the greatest war the world has ever known . . . treat and handle the colored man as you would any other human being out of whom you would get the best there is in him, and you will have as good a soldier as history has ever known, a man who will drill well, who will give a good account of himself in battle, and who will conduct and behave himself properly in camp, in garrison, and in other places.

Mr. Emmet J. Scott, special negro assistant to Secretary Baker, said in an interview recently published in the New York *Times* that the high exploits of the negroes on the battlefield have thrilled the nation. He gives the details of just what the negro force amounts to in the field.

Under the first draft there were 737,628 registrants, or close to 8 per cent of the total registration of the country. Of these registrants, close to 100,000 have been called into camp for active military service. There have been commissioned in the United States Army as captains, first lieutenants, and second lieutenants, about 1000 colored men, including about 250 colored medical officers in the Medical and Dental Reserve Corps. The 92d Division, and the 93d (Provisional), each finally to consist of approximately 30,000 Negro soldiers, have been organized under the command of Major-General C. C. Ballou and Brigadier-General Roy C. Hoffman, respectively.

The company units of these arms of service will be in large measure commanded by colored line officers. About 650 commissioned officers were graduated from the first training camp for colored officers at Des Moines, and these officers, according to reports, have for the most part made good and are in command of troops of their race at several camps. There are thirty-four colored chaplains in the various branches of the army.

### WORK ACCOMPLISHED BY NEGROES BEHIND THE LINES

One hundred and fifty colored men are with the negro branches of the Y. M. C. A. at the camps for negro soldiers and in France. In the purchase of War Savings Stamps and Liberty Bonds the negro has made a showing that compares most favorably with that of the whites in the same

communities. Old men shuffle to the cashiers' desks in the Southern States and surrender their rolls of savings for bonds, be-

cause they remember Abraham Lincoln and the war between the States and want to help Uncle Sam win this war over the Germans.

## THE PRESENT NEEDS OF THE NEGRO

**W**HAT the negro has always needed has been more educational advantages. The Government is now alive to the need of the colored race for elementary education and special training in order to fulfill the demands for technical skill in the mechanical war work required of them, and for a proper understanding of the aims and purposes of our Government, in order to maintain their morale.

Provision has already been made for this special training at Hampton, Tuskegee, Howard University, and other standard colored schools. At the summer and fall sessions there will be instruction in radio-engineering, mechanical and electrical engineering, auto-mechanics, carpentry, etc. The nation realizes that the raising to a high level the efficiency of the negro, physically, morally and spiritually, will prove a large factor in facing and bringing to defeat the most "formidable foe that ever drew sword against democracy and civilization."

Among the institutions for negro education, none is more deserving than the Cheyney Training School for negro teachers at Cheyney, Pa. This school has been largely supported by the Society of Friends, who founded the institution in 1837. It is devoted exclusively to preparing teachers for service in the colored schools throughout the United States. Its principal, Mr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, was one of the first educators to realize the enormous educational needs that would arise from the sudden and vast influx of negroes into the Northern States.

Miss L. E. Elliott, editor of *Pan-American Magazine*, writing in the *New York Evening Post*, says that over one million of these people have left the South since the outbreak of

the war. Teachers must be provided to shape this raw human material into the mould of American citizenship. And beyond the needs of the adults are the needs of the children.

In the United States to-day there are about 3,000,000 colored children of school age; they should have at least 60,000 teachers.

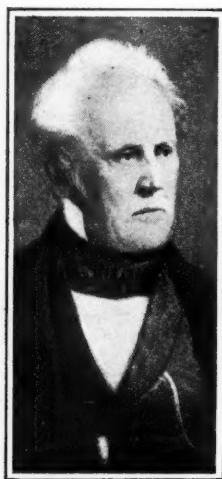
Cheyney has a present capacity for about a hundred students. Fifteen to twenty are graduated yearly, these teachers being eagerly absorbed by schools, chiefly in the North. Construction, to double the capacity, is under way, but funds are badly wanted. The training of teachers is not the limit of Cheyney's work. This school is an active centre of benefit to the neighborhood, with its community service. It reaches out to a radius of twelve miles, all the work being performed voluntarily and freely by Cheyney students, who go out to hundreds of small homes, white as well as colored, helping with farm and house problems, and frequently putting things straight morally as well as physically. Another part of this progressive social service concerns the neighboring town of West Chester, where a five-acre plot of land has just been secured, with the cordial help of all classes of West Chester citizens, to be put into immediate cultivation under food crops. Here, eventually, will be erected a community building for colored people of West Chester, playgrounds for children, and an experimental agricultural station.



CLASS IN MANUAL TRAINING AT THE CHEYNEY SCHOOL FOR TEACHERS

## A CENTURY-OLD SCIENTIFIC JOURNAL

THE *American Journal of Science*, better known to the older generation of scientific and science-loving Americans as *Silliman's Journal*, celebrated its hundredth birthday last month.



BENJAMIN SILLIMAN  
(Founder of America's oldest  
scientific periodical)

The centennial number, commemorating this event, includes an extensive history of the *Journal*, by its present editor, Prof. Edward S. Dana, together with a number of articles by prominent specialists, mostly devoted to setting forth the progress of various branches of science, particularly in America, during the lifetime of this venerable publication. The whole number, with some important additions, is to be reproduced shortly in book form by the

Yale University Press. Meanwhile the material before us furnishes an opportunity to take stock of the amazing growth of science and its applications within the brief span of a hundred years. The editor says:

Our standpoint in the early years of the nineteenth century, just before the *American Journal* had its beginning, may be briefly summarized as follows: A desire for knowledge was almost universal and, therefore, also a general interest in the development of science. Mathematics was firmly established and the mathematical side of astronomy and natural philosophy—as physics was then called—was well developed. Many of the phenomena of heat and their applications, as in the steam engine of Watt, were known, and even the true nature of heat had been almost established by our countryman, Count Rumford; but of electricity there were only a few sparks of knowledge. Chemistry had its foundation firmly laid by Priestly, Lavoisier, and Dalton, while Berzelius was pushing rapidly forward. Geology had also its roots down, chiefly through the work of Hutton and William Smith, though the earth was as yet essentially an unexplored field. Systematic zoology and botany had been firmly grounded by Buffon, Lamarck, and Cuvier, on the one hand, and Linnaeus on the other; but of all that is embraced under the biology of the latter half of the nineteenth century the world knew nothing.

Modern methods of transportation were in their earliest infancy. Fulton's steamboat, the *Clermont*, first navigated the Hudson in 1807; railways were not to come to fruition until 1825, while the automobile and the aeroplane were things of the remote and undreamed-of future. The present abstractor has at hand the initial number of the *Journal*, dated 1818. There is abundant food for reflection in it. Rhapsodies over a primitive steam engine, "that legitimate child of physical and chemical science, at once more powerful than the united force of the strongest and largest animals and more manageable than the smallest and gentlest," and over the earliest steamboats, "those stupendous vessels, which combine speed with certainty, and establish upon the bosom of the deep the luxuries and accommodations of the land," are calculated to moderate our enthusiastic outbursts with respect to contemporary "wonders," lest we provoke the mirth of posterity. What will be the attitude of 2018 toward 1918? Professor Dana thinks that "so great a combined progress of pure and applied science as that of the past hundred years is not likely to be again realized," but many scientific men would dissent strongly from this opinion.

Not to dwell further on the vast changes that the century has brought forth, let us take occasion to pay tribute to a publication that has so long nobly maintained the dignity, while promoting the progress, of American science. The history of the *Journal* is a record of industry, courage, and altruism. Its publication has never been a money-making enterprise, but, on the contrary, has often been a heavy financial burden upon its promoters.

After the completion of the first volume, Professor Benjamin Silliman, the founder, was compelled to become his own financial backer, thus embarking upon a long period of sacrifice and anxiety. Three generations of his family have grappled successfully with the problem of escaping the harassments of riches in a journalistic career. With the founder were eventually associated, as editors, his son, Prof. Benjamin Silliman, Jr., and his son-in-law, Prof. James Dwight Dana. The present editor, Prof. E. S. Dana, grandson of the founder, became his father's associate in 1875, and succeeded the elder Dana as chief editor on the death of the latter in 1895. Thus the conduct of

the publication has been continuously in the hands of one family, domiciled under the eaves of Yale University. Since the year 1851 some of the most illustrious scientific men of America—including such worthies as Wolcott Gibbs, Asa Gray, Louis Agassiz, and Josiah Cooke—have served as associates.

Apart from the publications of a few learned societies, the *American Journal of Science* has had a longer career than any other American scientific periodical now extant, and it has exercised, from the first, a wholesome and uplifting influence upon the intellectual life of this country.

## SULPHURIC ACID ESSENTIAL TO FRENCH VICTORY

ONE can hardly overestimate the importance of industrial development for France, not only during the great conflict but after the restoration of peace. A writer—C. Nordmann—in an article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* discourses stirringly and convincingly on this theme.

To-morrow—he says—France, emerging with honor from her “glorious anguish,” will resume her life, but to maintain that life, her noble rôle as idealist, she must be strong and rich, must profit by lessons so dearly bought. For, as has often been said, if she has been saved since 1914 it is due to a miracle of improvisation.

If called upon to decide which of all the manufactured products, the industrial creations, has been the most necessary and useful to the country since the war, without which defeat would have been rapid and inevitable, I should answer without hesitation, sulphuric acid.

It has since long been a sort of economic axiom that the factor which best represents the economic prosperity of a nation is its consumption of sulphuric acid. True in time of peace, it is still more so in modern warfare. To paraphrase a familiar saying, it is the lifeblood of war industry.

Denys Cochin, Under-Secretary of State at the time, found in Germany's increased importation of pyrites (used in producing sulphuric acid) in the two years preceding the war, another incontestable proof of her premeditated crime.

Why is sulphuric acid such an essential element of war material? Because without it we should have neither powder nor explosives; that is to say, that a country can utilize its firearms only in proportion to the amount it possesses of that acid. It is the chemical agent essential in the manufacture of powders. To paraphrase a saying of Danton, To vanquish the enemies of the country what is needed? Sulphuric acid, more sulphuric acid, sulphuric acid all the time!

How has France met these vital chemical needs since 1914? The writer gathers his

data from official reports and from information furnished by the Saint-Gobain Company (established 250 years ago), whose activities have been preponderant in this crisis.

At the outbreak of the war France could, it may be estimated, produce about 4500 (metric) tons of sulphuric acid a month—placed at once at the disposal of the government—but what was that with the continually growing needs? Germany meanwhile was producing 100,000 tons monthly. Subsequently the government, in order to keep pace with the enemy, required the Saint-Gobain Company to intensify its output—a difficult matter in view of the lack of labor, of transport facilities, and the fact that a number of its factories were in the invaded region. This acid, be it remarked, was applied in peace times to a very different object—it was used as a fertilizer. Factories and apparatus had to be created and multiplied, the processes of production modified. The efforts were so successful that from June, 1915, the War Office could dispose of 12,600 tons of sulphuric acid monthly. Since then the production has steadily increased, so that now it must be around 100,000 to 120,000 tons a month—a respectable showing alongside of Germany. The entry of the Americans, who will, naturally, furnish great quantities of the finished product, makes it likely that no matter what the duration of the war, the French will not need to augment their output.

It may be said that this industrial improvisation of the Saint-Gobain Company, in the face of difficulties without number and regardless of risks, shines out as one of the brightest pages of the national defense. Without it France would doubtless have rapidly succumbed, for in this war, dauntless as the soul of the nation may have been, it would not have sufficed had it not been sustained by the powerful, deadly breath of explosives. After the war all the industries called into being by the company should be maintained and developed, and France may thus easily become one of the leading chemical producers of the world. Sulphuric acid will find a market in almost every industry and in agriculture, which more than ever, owing to the lack of hands, will need the aid of fertilizers. Coal products, whose synthesis and output will have been developed by explosives, will find important markets in the manufacture of dyes. It is precisely these products which form the basis of the industry in which Germany wields a preposterous monopoly.

# THE NEW BOOKS

## THE WAR AND ALLIED TOPICS

**High Adventure.** By James Norman Hall. Houghton, Mifflin. 237 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

Captain Hall, the gallant air fighter from Iowa, lies wounded in a German prison, but his writings continue to inspire American youth. The latest record of his experiences is incomplete in that it had to be published without the two concluding chapters that had been planned by the author just before the daring adventure that cost him his liberty. Captain Hall writes modestly of his own exploits and no doubt at times employs a bit of camouflage to avoid the use of the first person in the narrative. His story throughout is a thrilling one and well calculated to arouse the interest of red-blooded youth.

**The Red Battle Flyer.** By Captain Manfred Freiherr von Richthofen. Robert M. McBride & Co. 222 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

At last we have what American airmen have long desired, a story of a German aviator's exploits told in his own words. This is the narrative of Captain Baron von Richthofen, who was killed in action in April last after having brought down eighty enemy airplanes. This book tells how Richthofen's "Flying Circus," famous in the history of the war, was formed and something of its adventures. It is believed that "The Red Battle Flyer" has value as well as interest to our own flyers because of the insight that it gives into the enemy airman's psychology.

**Out to Win.** By Lieutenant Coningsby Dawson. John Lane Company. 206 pp. \$1.25.

The author of "The Glory of the Trenches" and "Carry On," books of war experience that have been widely read in America, gives in this new volume a summary of his impressions of the American line-up in France, which he inspected under a commission from the British Government. His favorable judgment of the character and capacities of the American troops is flattering in the extreme. Yet there can be no doubt that Mr. Dawson has had access to the facts and is in a position to report them truthfully and fully to his government. His "Preface for Fools Only" is addressed to untraveled critics and mischief-makers on both sides of the Atlantic.

**You Who Can Help.** By Mary Smith Churchill. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 296 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

This volume contains a series of Paris letters about the war by the wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Marlborough Churchill, a member of General Pershing's staff. Mrs. Churchill volunteered her services in Paris in connection with the American Fund for the French Wounded, and these letters were written simply to tell her family of

the work in which she was engaged. They cover the period, August, 1916—January, 1918.

**Ambulance 464. Encore Des Blessés.** By Julien H. Bryan. Macmillan. 220 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

This is the story of a Princeton freshman who at the age of seventeen went to the war and drove an ambulance in the Verdun and Champagne sectors. His account is brought down to August, 1917. It is illustrated by photographs taken by Mr. Bryan himself.

**Beyond the Marne.** By Henriette Cuvru-Magot. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 107 pp. Ill. \$1.

Mademoiselle Henriette Cuvru-Magot, who lives in the village of Voisins, began her journal on August 2, 1914, and within five weeks was herself in the midst of the Battle of the Marne. Writing as a daughter and granddaughter of French officers, Mademoiselle Cuvru-Magot gives expression to the "noblest type" of French patriotism.

**The Fighting Fleets.** By Ralph D. Paine. Houghton, Mifflin. 393 pp. Ill. \$2.

**The U-Boat Hunters.** By James B. Connolly. Scribner. 263 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

The reader will find in either one of these books a picturesque account of Allied naval defense against the submarine. In particular, he will find there the story of the part played by American destroyers operating under an English Admiral three thousand miles away from home. Both Mr. Paine and Mr. Connolly were privileged to spend many weeks last winter on these American destroyers. They recite not only first-hand experiences, but also carefully gathered facts regarding the more noteworthy exploits of our energetic fighting force in European waters. Both authors have long-established reputations as naval writers. Mr. Connolly's book is the more easily read, while Mr. Paine's is more complete. Mr. Paine makes good use of official data, and he does not hesitate to give real names, dates, and places.

**The Odyssey of a Torpedoed Transport.** By Y. Translated from the French by Grace Fallow Norton. Houghton, Mifflin. 217 pp. \$1.25.

The author of this tale of the sea is a young officer of the French merchant service who traveled more than 125,000 miles through the war zone, ranging from New York to Archangel and Alexandria. The title of his book is no merely fanciful conceit. His ship, the *Pamir*, was frequently pursued, shelled, torpedoed, and finally, in 1917, sent to the bottom. No better account has anywhere appeared of the never-ending flight

of the merchantman before the terrors of the enemy submarine.

**The Faith of France.** By Maurice Barrès. Houghton, Mifflin. 294 pp. \$1.60.

It may be stated that the real basis of this book is a collection of thousands of letters from young French men and boys at the front, published and unpublished. From this unique material, supplemented by personal talks with hundreds of soldiers, one of the most distinguished French men of letters of our day has evolved an interpretation of the spiritual unity of France at war. It is a remarkable study, well deserving to be called "a human document." The American edition has a foreword by Dr. Henry van Dyke and a preface by Professor Baldensperger, of the Sorbonne, who is now at Columbia University.

**The White Flame of France.** By Maude Radford Warren. Boston: Small, Maynard and Co. 358 pp. \$1.50.

A novelist's interpretation of the French war spirit, with graphic descriptions of a bombardment at Rheims, two Zeppelin raids in London, the giving of plays for the soldiers of Verdun, and other incidents of the war.

**Reclaiming the Maimed.** By R. Tait McKenzie. Macmillan. 128 pp. Ill. \$2.

The striking fact that nearly one-half of the men wounded during the present war have been put back into active military service is itself sufficient to justify the use of every possible means for the reclaiming of those maimed in battle. Dr. McKenzie, the author of this little handbook, has had more than a year's experience as medical officer in charge of a "Command Depot," Heaton Park, Manchester, and as inspector of similar institutions for the treatment of convalescents, founded by the British War Office. His text is reinforced by many illustrations of important methods of treatment.

**War Bread.** By Alonzo E. Taylor. Macmillan. 99 pp. 60 cents.

A vigorous plea for the saving of American wheat—a book much needed at the present moment when the country is facing the most critical phase of the problem.

**The Boys' Military Manual.** By Virgil D. Collins. Frederick A. Stokes. 211 pp. Ill. \$1.

A book of army information that should be in the hands of every boy between the ages of twelve and eighteen. It will show him what a military education really is, and how universal military training is the soundest measure of prevention and defense.

**Draft Convention for League of Nations.** By Group of American Jurists and Publicists. Description and Comment by Theodore Marburg. 46 pp. 25 cents.

The text of this draft convention was prepared by a "study group" of jurists and publicists, and is based on the program of the League to Enforce

Peace. As is well understood, the principal aim of this league is to compel inquiry before nations are permitted to go to war.

**No. 6.** By C. de Florez. E. P. Dutton & Co. 150 pp. \$1.50.

This book is made up of pages from the diary of an ambulance driver. It is a revelation of the spirit of the French *poilu*, as well as of the men and women behind the firing line. The scene is on the Verdun front in the third year of the war.

**Germany Her Own Judge.** By H. J. Suter-Lerch. Houghton, Mifflin. 145 pp. 50 cents.

A Swiss reply to German propaganda regarding the responsibility for the beginning of the war.

**Life in a Tank.** By Richard Haigh. Houghton, Mifflin. 141 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

The antics of the British tank have been providing sensations for the war correspondents at intervals during the past two years. Yet up to the present time no book has been written about them, and this is perhaps the only important phase of warfare on the French front that has not been thus exploited. We now, for the first time, have the story of tank life by a tank commander, Captain Haigh, of the famous *Britannia*. The narrative is simple and unpretentious but conveys a clear idea of the conditions under which this wonderful weapon is operated. Captain Haigh and his tank were engaged at Arras and at Ypres.

**A Minstrel in France.** By Harry Lauder. Hearst's International Library Company. 338 pp. Ill. \$2.

Known and loved by thousands of Americans before the war, Harry Lauder now has more friends in this country than ever before. Since the war began, he has spoken to millions of Americans, and by his own efforts, it is said, has sent 12,000 men to the front. Besides touring England and America for the purpose of raising money and recruits, he has sung to and lived with the soldiers in the trenches, and has subscribed every cent of his wealth to the British war loans. His book gives a vivid account of his experiences since the war began, including pathetic references to the death on the battlefield of his son, Captain John Lauder. The father is now engaged in raising a fund of \$5,000,000 for the relief of soldiers and sailors disabled in the war.

**An American Soldier.** Letters of Edwin Austin Abbey. Houghton, Mifflin. 174 pp. \$1.35.

The author of these letters was a nephew of the painter. A graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, he enlisted early in the war in a Canadian regiment, was wounded in April, 1916, returned to the front as a lieutenant and was killed in action at Vimy Ridge in April, 1917, just after receiving news that the United States had entered the war. His letters home remind one continually of Hankey's "A Student in Arms." They have an inspiring message for the soldier in the training-camp or at the front.

**The Schemes of the Kaiser.** By Juliette Adam. E. P. Dutton & Company. 216 pp. \$1.50.

Madame Adam, founder and editor of *La Nouvelle Revue* (Paris), has been fighting Germany for the past forty-five years, and during all that period has labored to awaken her own country to the German peril and to keep alive the hope for the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine. The chapters of the present volume are virtually reprints of articles contributed at various times to her review. In her analysis of the character and aims of the Kaiser, she is almost prophetic.

**The End of the War.** By Walter E. Weyl. Macmillan. 323 pp. \$2.

In this volume Dr. Weyl appeals to America to take the leadership in the diplomacy that will ultimately lead to peace after the end of military operations. He urges the discarding of all imperialistic aims and a conclusive settlement based on the principles of internationalism.

**Americanism and Social Democracy.** By John Spargo. Harper & Brothers. 326 pp. \$1.50.

Mr. Spargo, who, until the entrance of the United States into the war, was a leader among American Socialists, and who is still a champion of Social Democracy, although he has left the Socialist party, attempts in this volume to interpret the movement for socialization which is now in progress, and in so doing he makes an authoritative statement of the aims and platform of the new National Party, of which he was one of the founders. The appendix contains the documents presented at the St. Louis convention of the Socialist party, illustrating the division that resulted from the un-American war policy adopted by that convention.

**The World Peace and After.** By Carl H. Grabo. Alfred A. Knopf. 154 pp. \$1.

A brief forecast of the constructive work to be done after the war in reestablishing international relations and developing a new political and social morality.

**The Structure of Lasting Peace.** By H. M. Kallen. Boston: Marshall Jones Company. 187 pp. \$1.25.

An outline of a projected league of nations, formed on the model of the United States of America, for the purpose of establishing and enforcing peace.

**Right and Wrong After the War.** By Rev. Bernard Iddings Bell. Houghton, Mifflin. 187 pp. \$1.25.

An attempt to define the attitude of the Church toward modern social and economic problems and more broadly to point out the general need of readjusting the old system of morality to the new life of the world.

**Democracy Made Safe.** By Paul Harris Drake. Boston: LeRoy Phillips. 110 pp. \$1.

Democracy, in Mr. Drake's conception, is not merely a political idea, but is synonymous with social, economic, and legal equality. Mr. Drake

undertakes to present a working plan for organizing the affairs of human society in such a way that democracy will be the only possible outcome.

**The Political Conditions of Allied Success.** By Norman Angell. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 350 pp. \$1.50.

The brilliant author of "The Great Illusion" and other well-known works makes in this volume a plea for what he terms "the protective union of democracies." As conditions of survival for the democratic states, Mr. Angell discusses "Limitations of the Military Decision," "A Patriotism of the Larger Fatherland—or Subjugation," "The Force of a Society of Nations: Could It Be Effective?" "Factors of Enemy Unity," "The Problem of the Criminal Nation," "The American Minimum at the Peace," and "Public Opinion as a Decisive Factor."

**Our Democracy.** By James H. Tufts. Henry Holt & Co., 327 pp. \$1.50.

A clear and simple exposition of what the author terms "The Business of Being an American Citizen." Although begun before 1914 and hence not in any sense a product of the war, the book has peculiar pertinence at this time, in so far as it explains to the citizen and the prospective citizen more completely what his country means.

**The Development of Japan.** By Kenneth Scott Latourette. Macmillan. 237 pp. \$1.50.

The possibility of Japanese intervention in Russia has focused the eyes of the world upon the Island Empire of the Far East. This brief historical survey of the development of the Japanese people and civilization from their beginnings is arranged for the use of the reader who wishes to have sufficient knowledge about Japan to form a sane opinion. One hundred years ago Japan was an obscure Asiatic empire, sealed in accordance with her own desires from practically all contact with the modern world. The story of her advance to her present position of a thoroughly modernized nation, equipped with every new industrial, commercial, and military appliance of the West, is told in a most admirable manner. Mr. Latourette has explained Japanese politics, institutions, ambitions, sketched the probable future of the nation, and shown the reactions of Western progress upon old Japan and the problems arising from the adjustment of the old to the new. It will serve study groups, schools, and the general reader as an authoritative text-book on Japan.

**Bohemia under Hapsburg Misrule.** By Thomas Čapek. Fleming H. Revell Company. 187 pp. \$1.

This is an attempt to set forth the ideals and aspirations of the Bohemian and Slavic peoples as they relate to and are affected by the war. Chapters are contributed on the Bohemian character by Professor H. A. Miller; the "Place of Bohemia in the Creative Arts," by Professor Will S. Monroe; "Bohemians and the Slavic Regeneration," by Professor Leo Wiener; and Professor Emily G. Balch, of Wellesley College, writes on the "Bohemians as Immigrants."

**Bohemian (Czech) Bibliography.** By Thomas Čapek and Anne Vostrovský Čapek. Revell. 256 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

This book has been prepared in order to enable the American reader to know what has been written in English about Bohemia and just where to find it. The material is subdivided into twenty-two parts, with a comment accompanying each part. The subjects covered are: Bohemian art, biography, Bohemian glass, dictionaries, drama, fiction, folk and fairy tales, guides, history, music, language, literature, periodicals, plans, politics, sociology and economics, Sokols, travel and description, Prague, John Hus, John Amos—everything necessary to a complete source-book of Bohemia. The soil of this subject nation has been fiercely contested by Slav and Teuton. It is the hope of its patriots that Bohemia will as a result of the great war regain her lost independence.

**Ukraine.** By Stephen Rudnitsky. Rand, McNally & Co. 369 pp.

The author of this book is the famous geographer of the University of Lemberg. His work was originally published in Ukrainian at Kiev in 1910. A German translation appeared at Vienna in 1915, and the present volume is an English translation of the German edition. The author's treatment of the Ukraine is encyclopedic in its scope.

**A General's Letters to His Son.** With Preface by General H. S. Smith-Dorrien. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 111 pp. \$1.

The author of these letters is a senior general officer of the British Army who is on the active list and has some holding commissions.

**Police Reserve and Home Defense Guard Manual.** By Major William A. Dawkins. E. P. Dutton and Co. 149 pp. Ill. \$1.

A practical handbook strongly endorsed by Arthur Woods, former Police Commissioner of New York City, and Inspector Cahalane, of the New York Police Department. It is said to be the only book in its field.

**Armenia.** By M. C. Gabrielian. Fleming H. Revell Company. 352 pp. \$1.75.

A native Armenian's history of his own people which has peculiar interest because of the terrible suffering of the Armenians at the hands of the Turks during the present war.

**German Atrocities.** By Newell Dwight Hillis. Fleming H. Revell Company. 44 pp. Ill. \$1.

A summary of an investigation made in Belgium and France during the summer of 1917. Mr. Henry M. and W. C. Leland, of Detroit, and Richard H. Edmonds, of Baltimore, were associated with Dr. Hillis in this inquiry. These gentlemen were the guests of the British and French Governments and in visiting the devastated regions of Belgium and France conversed with hundreds of victims of German cruelty who gave their testimony on the very spots where atrocities had been committed. The care taken by these investigators to verify every charge made

by the French and Belgians gives a character to this statement comparable with the credence that has always been placed by English and American readers in the famous Bryce report.

**The War-Whirl in Washington.** By Frank Ward O'Malley. The Century Company. 298 pp. \$1.50.

Mr. O'Malley sets forth certain of the humorous aspects of conditions in war-time Washington which to not a few of the participants have almost ceased to be a joke. The overcrowding of the nation's capital and the transformation of the city into a sort of western boom town are graphically described.

**Wake Up America!** By Mark Sullivan. Macmillan. 101 pp. 60 cents.

A ringing exhortation to the American people to build ships! Mr. Sullivan resolves the questions of coal scarcity, food and munitions scarcity, and even that of man power on the Western front into this one big question of tonnage. Of the timeliness of his message there can be no doubt.

**Bill of the U. S. A.** By Kenneth Graham Duffield. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company. 62 pp. 50 cents.

War verse of a certain unpretentious, homely, and appealing quality.

**The Soldier's English and Italian Conversation Book.** By Walter M. Gallichan. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 128 pp. 75 cents.

A phrase-book intended to enable the American soldier to converse with the Italian allies. The correct pronunciation of each word is given.

**The Wooden Horse.** By Deets Pickett. The Abingdon Press. 87 pp. 25 cents.

A clear statement of the economic argument for prohibition.

**Our Fighting Spirit.** By Ralph Graham Taber. Spokane Publishing Syndicate. 64 pp. 30 cents.

A series of patriotic selections in prose and verse.

**War Fact Tests.** By William H. Allen. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company. 80 pp. Ill. 24 cents.

A remarkable outline of the reasons why we are at war, our national peace aims, and the many local, State, and national activities in which America is now engaged. This work is adapted for use in schools.

**Rasputin and the Russian Revolution.** By Princess Catherine Radziwill. John Lane Company. 319 pp. Ill. \$3.

Possibly this volume gives undue prominence to the career of the so-called "Black Monk" of Russia. The more valuable part of the book is given up to an historical account of the revolution itself. The author writes from first-hand knowledge of the facts.

## RUSSIA'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL NEEDS

PRACTICALLY every aspect of Russian autocracy and its long preparation for the events of the Revolution has been presented authoritatively by Dr. E. J. Dillon in his searching study of the causes effecting the downfall of Russian Czardom, "The Eclipse of Russia,"<sup>1</sup> Dr. Dillon is preeminently fitted for this task by education, culture, and long experience within the inner circles of Russian governmental affairs. His knowledge of the peoples and tongues of the Russian Empire is immense; he is a graduate of two Russian universities and a professor in the University of Karkoff. He has been editor of one Russian newspaper and editorial writer for two others, and for many years he was the most intimate friend of Count Witte. Dr. Dillon is half Celt, and it is probably due in part to the swiftness of his Celtic comprehension that he has successfully bridged the abyss that exists psychologically between the Slav and Saxon, and translated the cryptic workings of the Slav mind to the nations of the civilized world. His generalizations as to the wisest policy for the Allied nations to pursue in Russia, coincide with the views of President Wilson, so far as they have been expressed. While Russia needs many things, it is certain that her immediate necessity is an army—fully protected—of industrial experts.

As Dr. Dillon sees it, the Russian situation is by no means hopeless. Affairs are badly tangled; class misunderstands class; the people who cry out that the peasants must be energized do not know the workings of the peasant mind. At present, the masses of the people have absorbed the predatory character of the former state, and the desire to destroy is uppermost. The high aims of the Duma were frustrated by the spirit of the peasants and the narrowness of their intellectual outlook. Even the higher type of Russian often displays the mentality of a man who looks at the stars and falls into a bog hole. In the Russian character, the sublime and the savage are equally mixed, "deeds belie words, means hinder ends, indifference compensates for lack of constancy." They fight with words, have no idea of the proper relation of words and ideas, and display scant reverence for facts.

Dr. Dillon advises the Allies to assist in the reconstruction of Russia; he thinks the Russian people are in a mood to listen to President Wilson. So much of the "humane," he writes, still survives in the average Russian that he will prove splendid raw material for wise state builders. Russia awaits the man, or men who will disentangle her economic grain from the rank jungle of the weeds of the Revolution; Russia is great in her possibilities.

In the appendix of this volume, Dr. Dillon writes of the secret treaty between Czar Nicholas and the German Emperor, signed July 24th, 1905, and gives the text of the treaty. At that time German plans were complete for wresting from Great Britain the colonial possessions so ardently coveted by the Prussian Junkers.

<sup>1</sup>The Eclipse of Russia. By Dr. E. J. Dillon. Doran. 423 pp. \$4.

In another volume of English opinion in regard to Russian affairs, "Russia's Agony,"<sup>2</sup> Mr. Robert Wilton, for many years correspondent of the London *Times* at Petrograd, agrees with the main body of Dr. Dillon's statement. Mr. Wilton is a lifelong student of Russian life and her political systems. Taking all factors into consideration, he thinks that nothing could have saved the nation from a period of anarchy. He sees Bolshevism as a destructive agency, primarily, because it offers no method of feeding and clothing the Russian people. Germany, he believes, planned a double exploitation of Russia, first of the autocracy, then of the Russia of the Revolution. Yet with the assistance of industrial organizers, Russia will arise strengthened by her ordeal; she is a country that is destined by the operation of natural and economic laws to figure as one of the greatest markets and food producers in the world, once her economic resources are reorganized.

Many of these conclusions are confirmed by a writer whose viewpoint is radically different from those of Dr. Dillon and Mr. Wilton—Prof. E. A. Ross, of the University of Wisconsin, who studied Russia on the ground in the year of revolution and brought to the research all the zeal and skill of a trained and practised sociologist. His book, "Russia in Upheaval,"<sup>3</sup> is first and last a survey of what actually happened there in 1917 and an inquiry into the forces and conditions that made it happen. Professor Ross is far more sanguine regarding the Bolsheviks than any other authoritative writer with whom we are familiar. Not contenting himself with what he could learn by a month's sojourn at Petrograd, he visited all the important trade and industrial centers on the Volga River, interviewing employers, labor leaders, land and food committees, and other representatives of the people.

In "The Dark People"<sup>4</sup> (noticed in our June number), Ernest Poole makes one feel the tide of a great people sweeping irresistibly against the battlements of ancient darkness, crying their vision of light. It is a book of energy and ideas, a fundamentally American view of a Russian situation.

Mr. Poole takes up successively the problems of Russia at the present time—industry, labor, food, land, railroads, etc.—and gives clear pictures of Russian states of mind in regard to these problems by means of verbatim jottings from the mouths of the people. Their various testimonies give a definite idea of the seething mass of racial entities and interacting ideals and forces that constitute Russia. Out of the whole looms the conclusion, that on the fate of Russia hangs the outcome of the present struggle. Whoever succeeds in giving Russia permanent reorganization will win the war. In his opinion, Bolshevism has performed one great service, that of reveal-

<sup>2</sup>Russia's Agony. By Robert Wilton. Longmans, Green. 356 pp. Ill. \$4.80.

<sup>3</sup>Russia in Upheaval. By Edward Alsworth Ross. The Century Company. 354 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

<sup>4</sup>The Dark People. By Ernest Poole. Macmillan. 226 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

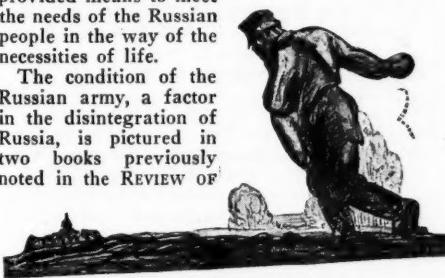
ing fully to the entire world the greed and treachery of Berlin. Russia needs at present an army of industrial experts, engineers, railroad men, agriculturists, men who can bring economic order out of chaos. Agrarian Russia will yield to the propaganda of farm tractors, stump-pullers, milking-machines and reapers. The "dark people" are pushing toward the light. For their children, there must be food, freedom, schools, homes, land and liberty.

"The Birth of the Russian Democracy,"<sup>1</sup> by A. J. Sack, is a publication of the Russian Information Bureau in the United States. The first part of the volume is devoted to the history of the Russian revolutionary movement, from the uprising of 1825 to the downfall of autocracy in 1917, with sketches of the leading personalities involved. The second part is virtually a documentary account of developments since the March Revolution. The work has value for purposes of reference.

One factor that bulwarked the rise of Bolshevism is clearly brought out in "Runaway Russia,"<sup>2</sup> a picture of the Revolution seen through the eyes of a trained newspaper woman, Florence Macleod Harper. The terrible calamities that attended the progress of the war on the Western front in Russia had their inevitable reflex in revolution. The untold sufferings of the Russian army for three years fighting the German foe in front and the more subtle forces of German propaganda and lack of support and equipment in the rear, did much to disorganize what was then left of stability in Russia.

Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr's personal experiences in Russia during the Kerensky régime, "Inside the Russian Revolution,"<sup>3</sup> bring out one salient fact. The Bolsheviks have had little idea of the economic basis of government and have not provided means to meet the needs of the Russian people in the way of the necessities of life.

The condition of the Russian army, a factor in the disintegration of Russia, is pictured in two books previously noted in the REVIEW OF



"THE DARK PEOPLE"

REVIEWS. "In the Russian Ranks,"<sup>4</sup> by John Morse, an Englishman who served in the army of the Czar, and in the story of an American fighting physician, Surgeon M. C. Grow,<sup>5</sup> who served as lieutenant in the Medical Division of the Russian Army in three great campaigns. Dr. Grow writes of the heroic men who fought the crack troops of

<sup>1</sup>The Birth of Russian Democracy. By A. J. Sack, Russian Information Bureau. 536 pp. Ill. \$2.90.

<sup>2</sup>Runaway Russia. By Florence Macleod Harper. Century. 321 pp. \$2.

<sup>3</sup>Inside the Russian Revolution. By Rheta Childe Dorr. Macmillan. 243 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>4</sup>In the Russian Ranks. By John Morse. Knopf. 337 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>5</sup>Surgeon Grow. By M. C. Grow. Stokes. 304 pp. \$1.50.



THE COSSACK

Germany without shells, doctors, ambulances, or medicines.

Tolstoy looms large in the modern world as a man who has gained universal fame. Yet the average man is apt to be vague as to just what constitutes his claim to greatness. He knows without saying, as George Rapall Noyes writes in his new life of Tolstoy,<sup>6</sup> that the personality of the man outstripped his literary genius; the prophet outshone the artist. This is as Tolstoy himself would have had it, for to the day of his death he was more a seeker after new truth than an artist, more the man striving after righteousness than the master of realistic fiction. Professor Noyes has written a most satisfactory life of Tolstoy and a brilliant connected criticism of his writings. One cannot find in the literary work of any other Russian so complete a revelation of the complexities of Russian character, or see as clearly the economic, religious, moral and social life of the Russian peoples. Professor Noyes reveals Tolstoy as the literary artist who achieved impeccable perfection, and as a moralist and preacher in the proper relation to his age.

#### RUSSIAN STORIES

Four of Tolstoy's short stories are published under the title of one of the best-known and most beautiful of all his tales, "What Men Live By."<sup>7</sup> The other three are: "The Coffee House at Surat," "Three Questions," and "How Much Land Does a Man Need?" They are translated by L. A. Maude.

The fifth volume of Constance Garnett's translations from the Russian of Anton Chekhov, "The Wife and Other Stories,"<sup>8</sup> contains interpretations of life among the educated classes in Russia. They are rich in color, but often grim with the latent murkiness of savagery that lurks in the Russian nature. They interpret the Slav by reflecting the contradictory elements of his character and temperament.

<sup>6</sup>Tolstoy. By George Rapall Noyes. Duffield. 395 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>7</sup>What Men Live By. By Leo Tolstoy. Stratford Co. 66 pp. 25 cents.

<sup>8</sup>The Wife and Other Stories. By Anton Chekhov. Macmillan. 312 pp. \$1.50.

## GUIDE AND TRAVEL BOOKS

**Finding the Worth While in the Southwest.** By Charles Francis Saunders. McBride. Ill. 231 pp. \$1.25.

A wholly delightful guide-book that depicts the beauties and wonders of the Southwest with sympathy and literary charm. To Mr. Saunders this portion of the United States suggests Syria, or Northern Africa, or Spain, and he asks travelers to realize the antiquity of the remains of a marvelous civilization found along the sandstone cliffs and upon the wide stretching mesas. Certainly it must have flourished in the time of Thebes and Nineveh. He has brought human associations into the texture of his narrative to accentuate the highly romantic quality of this land of sunshine and sapphire skies.

**A Guide to the National Parks of America.** Edited by Edward Frank Allen. McBride. Ill. 338 pp. \$1.25.

A revised, enlarged edition of a competent guide to the fifteen magnificent National Parks that constitute scenic America, also to the Grand Canyon (technically a forest reserve), and our national monuments. These monuments, which Mr. Allen calls "parks in embryo," are not well known as a whole to the tourist, yet their combined reservations aggregate nearly two and a half million acres. They are of three kinds: Historic landmarks, historic mountains, and prehistoric remains, and natural monuments such as caves, natural bridges, the Muir Woods and the Grand Canyon.

**Sweetser's White Mountain Guide.** By M. F. Sweetser. Houghton, Mifflin. 387 pp. Ill. \$2.75.

A revised edition, with maps and views, of one of the most satisfactory guide-books and regional handbooks in the country. A feature of this edition is a list of altitudes above sea-level, of peaks, valleys, villages, lakes and rivers of the White Mountain country and of points seen from its summits. The Federal Government now owns 400,000 acres of forests in various parts of the mountains, and the State of New Hampshire has taken over the greater part of Crawford Notch. Information for prospective campers in that region may be had from the United States Forest Service, Gorham, N. H., and from the State Forester, Concord, N. H. This new edition has been prepared by Mr. John Nelson, assisted by members of the Appalachian Mountain Club.

**Through Lapland with Skis and Reindeer.** By Frank Hedges Butler. Frederick A. Stokes & Co. 286 pp. Ill. \$4.

Lapland is a part of the world with which America can have little contact until after the war. It is pictured for us by Mr. Butler as a new winter playground made accessible by the opening of the railroad from Petrograd to Alexandrovsk, but that is all in the future. Until now the land and people have been primitive in the extreme and the accounts that were given by travelers among the Laplanders more than two hundred years ago hold true in the main to-day. Mr. Butler's account of his own travels in that faraway land makes an entertaining story.

## THREE BOOKS FOR WOMEN VOTERS

**The New Voter.** By Charles Willis Thompson. Putnam. 39 pp. \$1.50.

This is not a guide for the actual process of casting a ballot, but an analysis of practical politics for women who are anxious to undertake their new responsibilities with understanding. It is written in a popular, readable style that holds the attention and fixes the facts in memory. The chapters were originally contributed to the *New York Times*.

**Maids, Wives, and Widows.** By Rose Falls Bres. Dutton. 267 pp. \$2.

Some time ago a small book dealing with legal conditions affecting women and minors, called "The Law and the Woman," appeared in a small edition, found a ready sale, and was soon out of print. This volume is an enlarged, revised edition of the earlier book, and is an invaluable manual of legal first aid for women. The principles of the law as they affect women are clearly stated, stripped of all technical and confusing phraseology. It should be in every woman's home library.

**Capital To-Day: A Study of Recent Economic Development.** By Herman Cahn. Putnam. 376 pp. \$2.

While this book has not been prepared especially for women, it would be advisable for every woman who intends to use the ballot or to assume any responsibility of citizenship to read it. This is a second edition of a study of economic conditions in the United States, the economic factors that affect your home, the countryside, town, city, every development of civilized life that surrounds you. Since the Civil War the economic development of the United States unfolds a more marvelous romance than any Eastern tale of mystery and magic. Some of the many topics of the book are: The science of economics, the functions of money, money tokens, totality of the money system in the United States, the cycle of industrial capital and its concentration, and the mystery of capitalism. No one, man or woman, can vote intelligently without a basic knowledge of the laws that govern the production and the exchange of the material means of life in human society.

# POETRY AND STUDIES OF VERSE

**T**HE Posthumous Poems of Algernon Charles Swinburne,"<sup>1</sup> collected and edited by Edmund Gosse and Thomas James Wise, were largely recovered from old newspaper parcels tucked away on bookshelves from time to time by the poet during his residence with Watts Dutton at "The Pines." These poems cover a period of fifty years, 1857-1907, and include the "Border Ballads," several odes, miscellaneous verse and ballads, parodies, fragments, and sketches for longer poetical work never completed. In them the Swinburnian rhythms and cadences are in evidence, but the fiery ardor of his best work is lacking; they are as empty shells of his splendor, sound and fury of words. The "Ode to Mazzini" and another to Leconte de Lisle and certain short poems deserve a place with his former published work, but for the most part it had been wiser to leave these late moultings of genius in their quiet obscurity in the newspaper parcels at "The Pines." One is impressed, however, throughout these posthumous poems with a haunting feeling of Swinburne's likeness in his idealization of human liberty to Shelley. In these echoes one senses it as securely as in his perfervid poems of republicanism and remembers that Swinburne wrote to his youngest sister in November, 1892: "I must say it is funny, not to say uncanny, how much there is in common between us two (himself and Shelley) . . . And yet nobody ever pretended to think me an imitator or follower of my elder born."

"Evening Hours,"<sup>2</sup> by the late Émile Verhaeren, is the last volume of his beautiful trilogy of which the other volumes are "Sunlit Hours" and "Afternoon." Together they form one of the greatest tributes ever paid to any wife by any husband. In "Evening Hours," the poems of the closing days of their married love, he affirms once more the old Greek's cry that the only assurance of immortality lies within the loyalty of enduring love between man and woman. Verhaeren says: "Nothing dies that dares love loyalty."

The indomitable spirit of unconquered Belgium, "wearing her wounds as flowers," speaks through the poems of Émile Cammaerts. The verses of his last collection, "Messines and Other Poems,"<sup>3</sup> were written from Easter, 1916, to August, 1917. In them one hears many voices, and through them all the voice of a nation that awaits the morning of its resurrection. The texts of the poems are given in both French and English. Cammaerts rises above even his own high average of poetic excellence in a tribute to Émile Verhaeren, the greatest of all the Belgian poets. The English free verse translation does scant justice to the rhythms of the French original.

TO ÉMILE VERHAEREN

We will raise him a tomb  
Which neither age nor time  
Can ever touch,

<sup>1</sup>Posthumous Poems of Algernon Charles Swinburne. Lane. 194 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>2</sup>Evening Hours. By Émile Verhaeren. Lane. 73 pp. \$1.

<sup>3</sup>Messines and Other Poems. By Émile Cammaerts. Lane. 119 pp. \$1.25.

Where solemnly will sound  
The echo triumphing  
Of his rhythmic verse.  
It will be in a field there on the Scheldt,  
Lashed by the wind,  
Beaten by the tide,  
Behind a dyke where silently  
The ships will glide  
Against a stormy sky.

'Tis there where we will plant it  
At the hour of the great return,  
Not like a heavy barren stone,  
But like a mighty, fertile tree,  
Whose delicate, waving shadow  
Sifts the light of day;  
Not like marble, calm and cold,  
Placed o'er an empty pit,  
But like a tree of bark and wood  
Where ardent life and greedy joy  
Pulse in its every leaf  
As to so many finger tips;  
Not like a mourning monument,  
But like a tree rustling with life  
And full of dreams,  
Whose roots drink on unceasingly  
From the country's very heart."

The untimely death of Adelaide Crapsey, daughter of Dr. Algernon Crapsey, in the autumn of 1914, prevented the completion of her studies in prosody, which would have solidly enriched our knowledge of the technique of verse structure. In the section, "Cinquains," of her volume, "Verse,"<sup>4</sup> published shortly after her death, the subtlety of her lyricism hinted at research beyond that of the average versifier. Seldom have poets approached the magic of several of these brief poems. "Warning," which seemingly presaged her own death, has a strange, eyrie music that defies analysis:

"Just now  
Out of the strange  
Still dusk . . . as strange, as still . . .  
A white moth flew. Why am I grown  
So cold?"

In an essay, "A Study in English Metrics,"<sup>5</sup> her theories of phonetic word structure as related to poetry are now given to the public. And for the first time the vocabularies of English poets are arranged in tables according to the percentage of polysyllables employed. Poets are accustomed to scan their work metrically; consciously or unconsciously they take heed of the phonetic units. The poet who does not know how his verse should be read is not a poet. Phonetic forms have their own meaning quite apart from the sense of the words. Take, for illustration, Coleridge's "Kubla Khan." Here is a poem where the phonetic structure triumphs alike over the metrical form and the ideas expressed. Both vanish out of mind before the phonetic feet of a fourth dimensional realm of poesy which is sheer music.

<sup>4</sup>Verse. By Adelaide Crapsey. The Manas Press, Rochester, N. Y. 95 pp. \$1.

<sup>5</sup>A Study in English Metrics. By Adelaide Crapsey. Knopf. 80 pp. \$1.

# WAR DEBTS AND TAXATION

WITH the completion of four years of war the debt pyramid rises, but does not broaden at its base. The direct war cost from August 1, 1914, to August 1, 1918, may be put down as approximately \$150,000,000,000. Nearly as much is being expended per annum to finance this great struggle as was employed in the first two years. The progressive increase of the United States illustrates this fact. From April 1, 1917, to the end of June that year the whole outlay by this country was about \$1,250,000,000. In the twelve months to June 30, 1918, it was \$12,500,000,000, or ten times that of the earlier period. For the month of July just concluded the estimates ran to \$2,000,000,000, or an annual cost of \$24,000,000,000. It is apparent, therefore, that if peace does not come before the middle of 1919 the war debt of the nations will be close to \$200,000,000,000.

As a background for the argument for higher and more general taxes which follows, the writer will repeat the war costs of the belligerent countries, published in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS a few months ago, but now brought to date to cover the whole period of the war. These figures do not pretend to be more than close approximations, and are as follows:

Great Britain .....	\$34,000,000,000
British Colonies .....	2,000,000,000
France .....	24,000,000,000
Russia .....	20,000,000,000
Italy .....	5,000,000,000
United States .....	15,000,000,000
 Total Allies .....	\$100,000,000,000
Germany .....	32,000,000,000
Austria-Hungary .....	20,000,000,000
 Total Central Powers.....	\$52,000,000,000
Total all nations.....	\$152,000,000,000

In the amount fixed for Great Britain there is an item of \$7,500,000,000 representing loans made to April 1, 1918, to her allies. The \$15,000,000,000 cost to the United States includes credits of considerably over \$6,000,000,000 granted to the members of the Entente. Germany has probably advanced some billions of dollars to Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. On the other hand, she has realized vast sums

both in money and in goods from the conquered nations and has probably been able to offset to a fair extent the loans to her bankrupt associates by the toll taken from Belgium, Rumania, Serbia, France, and Russia.

With Great Britain her largest credits were those made to Russia, the weakest financially of her allies, whereas 50 per cent. of the loans of the United States have been to Great Britain, the strongest financially of her allies. In discussing the British budget in the House of Commons last April Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, said he did not believe the Russian debt should be regarded as bad, for the country has very great resources and sooner or later a stable government will develop. He thought, however, that "national accounts should be kept in the same way as business accounts and for the time being we must allow not only for what is happening in Russia, but for the possibility that at the end of the war we might not be able to rely on receiving immediately the interest due us by our allies." He made the radical proposal, therefore, that at the end of next year (March 31, 1919) half the debts of the Allies to Great Britain, the debts due from the Dominions and from India, in full, be written off for a total of \$5,600,000,000.

In the past month the credit of Russia, as expressed in the price of her external loans and her ruble currency, has improved and there has been quite free buying in London and in New York of her securities. What the future value of the I. O. U.'s of Russia held in England, France, and the United States may be will depend a great deal on the progress made in the next few months by the Allies in pulling Russia out of the increasingly tight grip of the German militarists. Fortunately only about 3 per cent. of the total loans of this country to the Entente were to Russia.

The liquidation of the debt of other nations to the United States will be much swifter than with Great Britain and Germany. Consequently, their carrying charges after the war will be greater than here and the need of a taxation policy to carry over a long period of years is among the most perplexing of problems facing their statesmen.

To what extent the cost of the war (\$152,000,000,000) has been met by borrowing may be suggested by the statement that, until this year, none of the belligerents, save Great Britain, has raised as much as \$1,000,000,000 in taxes to meet their annual budget. For the four years to August 1, 1918, the whole amount of tax levies by Great Britain and her colonies, the United States, France, Italy, and Germany was roughly \$5,000,000,000. Of this Great Britain raised over half and the United States 30 per cent. The former has met 25 per cent. of her war costs by taxation and the latter, in the first full year of her part in the struggle, raised about 30 per cent. of her direct and indirect war expenditures through taxes. France has borrowed 89 per cent. and supplied the other 11 per cent. by taxing her people, while Italy has taxed for 9 per cent. and borrowed 91 per cent.

The taxes to be imposed by Great Britain for the year ending next March, of \$4,200,000,000, will be nearly four times her pre-war national debt and those proposed by Congress will be eight times the debt of the United States when we entered the war.

It is difficult to obtain accurate figures of the amounts raised in Germany from taxes. In many instances estimates rendered when taxes were proposed have not been realized by a wide margin. The people have been, as a whole, opposed to financing the war cost by imposts on their income or current profits. Commodities have been taxed, the poorer classes bearing the burden while the wealthier have been exempt. The latter control the government and the government is apparently timid about making them pay their share of the war burden for fear they would not subscribe liberally to war loans. If the full budget of taxes were to be accomplished, however, Germany would probably realize this year about \$750,000,000, or 6 per cent. of her war cost. This, however, would be a much higher percentage than had heretofore obtained. A German writer indicated a short time ago that, following the war, Germany would be required to provide \$3,500,000,000 per annum through taxation (an amount three times her pre-war debt) and that this would mean a levy of 50 per cent. on large fortunes.

The increasing demand for higher taxation to provide ways and means to finance the war is due to the alarming expansion everywhere in the paper currency and its attendant evil of inflation. Credit to-day

is highest in those countries that have taxed the most and borrowed the least in proportion to their war budgets. It has to be kept in mind, too, that the nations that could least afford to borrow on account of their huge debts existing prior to 1914 have been the ones which have taxed in moderation.

Both France and Italy were able to carry higher taxes than those which they imposed in the first two years of their war period. Both are now laying higher taxes on their people. France, long opposed to an income-tax, finally yielded to it and has been the first to put into effect a tax on luxuries which Great Britain has followed and which the United States will imitate. Italy has recently completed her income-tax returns for 1917-18 which show nearly \$70,000,000 realized, a sum which compares favorably with the income-taxes collected in the United States in the fiscal year 1916, viz., \$67,943,594, while her super-profit tax brought in nearly \$90,000,000, or more than \$33,000,000 than this country collected from her corporations the year they did the greatest volume of business in their history.

The rising cost of Canada's share of the war has brought a change in her fiscal policy involving higher income and excess profits taxes and a proposal for land-value taxes. It would be well if the neutrals of Europe and South America, prospering greatly from the war in some of their industries and in the production of commodities and raw materials, checked the inflation and extravagance that have resulted from an excess of credits in the United States and in London and Paris, by at least moderate income-taxes and taxes on the high returns on capital invested of the farmer, the miner, and the ship-owner.

The growth in the United States of taxation of incomes and corporation profits in the last three years is indicated below, as follows:

1916.....	\$125,000,000
1917.....	1387,000,000
1918 .....	2,821,000,000

<sup>1</sup>Including munitions tax.

Those who paid the tax in 1916 probably thought their individual allotment too small for the Government to bother with. Those who had to face the increased normal tax in the year following were not inconvenienced by it. It was a different story, however, when the tax day came around last June. Payment then was in a sum that hurt. Many had to borrow in order to pay

and many others accepted the 5 per cent. penalty and took the period of grace that it gave them. The sooner the individual who is in the income-paying class cuts down his manner of living and puts aside a tax fund for 1919, the better off he and his country will be; for to borrow to pay taxes is as un-economic and as demoralizing as to borrow on a title-free home to provide oneself with an automobile.

One of the quickest and most effective ways to bring a country to a sense of what war means and the sacrifices and denials it imposes is through taxation that does not in-

fringe on capital saved, but pares the family budget down to the strict essentials. This is all that the new tax law will do in a majority of cases. It is no great burden for a man with an income or salary of \$3000 to pay a tax of \$150, or one with an income of \$5000 to give up from \$300 to \$400, and an income of \$10,000 can well afford a concession to the Government of from \$1000 to \$1500. It is in about these proportions that the next levy must be made if the \$8,000,-000,000 demanded by Secretary McAdoo is to be raised from the income and profits of the current calendar year.

## INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

### No. 955. GETTING SEVEN PER CENT ON A SMALL INVESTMENT

I need to secure at least 7 per cent. on a small investment. Can such an investment be made with safety? If so, what would you recommend? What is the highest rate of interest that can be secured on good municipal bonds? What are the opportunities for safe investment in the South American securities as compared with domestic securities?

Even in these times of extraordinarily high money rates it is not possible to obtain investments of the highest grade and most conservative class to yield as much as 7 per cent. This will perhaps be clear to you if we point to the fact that standard railroad bonds, such as are legal investments for savings bank and trust funds in New York State, are not obtainable at prices to yield more than 5 per cent. on the average and that the best municipal bonds are not obtainable to yield more than 4½ per cent. to 4¾ per cent. However, 7 per cent. is obtainable with a good degree of underlying security. In this class of investment, we have had frequent occasion recently to mention such current offerings as Armour & Company 6 per cent. convertible debentures, maturing serially from 1919 to 1924 inclusive; Puget Sound Traction, Light & Power 7 per cent. notes; Union Electric Light & Power of St. Louis 7 per cent. notes and some of the Foreign Government bonds like the Anglo-French 5 per cents., due October 15th, 1920.

To refer again to the market for municipal bonds: We have already indicated that the highest grade investments of this class cannot be obtained to yield more than 4½ to 4¾ per cent. It is possible, however, to obtain 5 per cent. and better on a good class of such bonds if marketability be sacrificed. Such securities are not offered regularly in the open market, but are almost exclusively handled in a private way by banking firms specializing in municipal obligations. We suggest that you get in direct personal touch with two or three such firms with the idea of having them submit their offerings.

South American investments, we believe, ought to be chosen nowadays with careful discrimination. We do not know of anything in this department of the investment market which does not carry with it a considerable element of business risk. Perhaps one of the best of the current offerings of corporation securities in the South

American field is that of the 6 per cent. ten-year notes of the Central Argentine Railway, which were distributed here two or three years ago at slightly under par but which can now be bought somewhere between 75 and 80.

### No. 956. FEDERAL FARM LOAN BONDS

I have on hand a little money which I had intended investing in the Federal Farm Loan Bonds, but read recently an announcement in the newspapers that these bonds had been withdrawn from the market for the present. What would you advise me to do?

The announcement which you saw referred to the withdrawal of the offering of these bonds by the Land Banks themselves. We believe a small amount of the last offering still remains in the hands of some of the distributing banking houses and that bonds can be bought now at a slight advance in price, so that if you are predisposed toward this type of investment there is no need of your money remaining idle. It is our opinion, by the way, that the Federal Farm Loan Bonds are a first-rate investment medium.

### No. 957. CHICAGO & EASTERN ILLINOIS REFUNDING BONDS

Will you kindly tell me something about the Chicago & Eastern Illinois refunding 4 per cent. bonds? What is the position of this issue with respect to the other obligations of the road; that is to say, what is ahead of it? Is interest being paid on these bonds, and if not, when was the last payment made? What do you think are the future prospects of these bonds?

The Chicago & Eastern Illinois refunding 4 per cents., of which there are about \$18,000,000 outstanding, are junior in lien to \$2,736,000 First Consolidated 6 per cents.; \$21,343,000 General Consolidated First 5 per cents.; and \$6,000,000 Receivers' certificates.

Under the St. Louis & San Francisco reorganization plan all of that Company's former interest in the Chicago & Eastern Illinois was relinquished and the latter road continues to be operated by the receivers, inasmuch as it has been found impossible thus far to work out for it a satisfactory independent reorganization plan. The July, 1914, and all subsequent interest on the refunding 4 per cent. bonds is in default, and while we cannot definitely forecast the future, we are very strongly of the opinion that when the time comes for reorganization the holders of these bonds will have to make sacrifices.